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Plate 1. *Kumāra-Sambhava*, from Bhuvanesvar, Orissa,
Early Sixth Century A.D.

युगान्तकालाग्निमिवाविषमं परिच्युतं मन्मथरङ्गमङ्गात् ।

रतान्तरेतः स हिरण्यरेतस्योर्ध्वरेतास्तदमोषमाधात् ॥ KS, IX, 14.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF TWO INTERESTING SCULPTURES FROM ORISSA

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.

The Provincial Museum of Orissa now located in the Capital area of Bhuvaneswar has got a rich collection of sculptures of untold importance for the study of Indian Art and iconography. The value of the collection (both quantitative and qualitative) is to a large measure due to the untiring efforts of the Superintendent and Curator of the Museum. The latter, Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, in particular, has recently augmented the collection by his enthusiasm in collecting.

KUMĀRA-SAMBHAVA

(PLATE 1)

Two sculptures which form the subject-matter of this paper were explained to me by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi as finds from Bhuvaneswar and Athgarh sub-division, Orissa, respectively. The first was discovered by Panigrahi in 1949-50 from a field near the Rāmeśvara temple, midway between the railway station and the Lingarāja temple. It is the left end of a broken frieze, of sand stone, showing in a sunk panel, four figures and at the extreme left end a projecting fillet bearing the design of double doors (shut) with rosette-borders. The counter-sunk panel, or to speak correctly what remains of it, shows from the right a woman and a man on a cot (two of its legs and a side-board can be made out), the woman reclining and the man sitting. Only the lower part of the woman can be made out in the sculpture, the rest being broken and missing. She is lying on the cot, with the man seated in front of her, thereby hiding her thighs from view. Still her skirted legs can be made out in a row behind the man, also her girdled waist and her left hand which is resting on her abdomen or the region between the *nābhi* and the mount of Venus. The left hand which shows an armlet and wristlet, is all that remains of her upper part, the sculpture having been broken beyond and the broken part missing. The waist girdle is in two courses of round beads. The man is seated in front of her on the cot with his right leg laid vertical and the left leg laid flat on the cot as in squatting. A *jaṭāmukuta* arranged as in Buddha and Lakulīśa figures of Gupta type,

patra-kunḍalas in the ears, a necklet of a single course of beads as in Gupta type, wristlets (plain) in the hands, the right hand of webbed fingers (*jālāṅguli*) indicating *abhaya*, the left resting on the left lap, and a *yajñopavīta* of two strands are some of the features worth noticing as associated with him. But the most important part of the man is his *Ūrdhva meḍhra* from out of which is an upward and continuous flow of *tejas*. This flow or discharge is being received on the left by another man who, though similar to the man on the cot, has a *prabhā-maṇḍala* of flames of fire behind him, is without *patra-kunḍalas* and is actually kneeling beside the former with both his hands arranged like a cup into which the discharge of the former flows. Behind, or to speak correctly, by the left side of the kneeling figure with the *prabhā-maṇḍala* of flames of fire, is seated another figure of a man similar to the former except that the sitting pose is as in the figure with *Ūrdhva meḍhra*, and that the right hand carries a rosary of single course of beads (*akṣhamālā*) and the left hand a spouted water-pot (*kunḍikā* or *kamaṇḍalu*). A *yajñopavīta* of two strands and *prabhā-maṇḍala* formed by flames of fire are prominently associated with this figure. A full-blown lotus is shown on the upper part of the frieze above the seated figure with the *Ūrdhva-meḍhra*.

I was surprised to hear several fantastic interpretations of the scene represented here. Luckily it has not been published so far and hence I hasten to record here its correct identification. The scene (plate 1) relates to the events that preceded the birth of Kumāra or Kārtikeya or Subrahmaṇya, the son of Śiva and Umā, who did not come out of the womb of Umā, and yet was son of Śiva and Umā, giving to his sire by his association the name *Somāskanda*. Of the various accounts of the birth of Kumāra recorded in the two Epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, in the *Purāṇas* including *Skanda-Purāṇa*, in the *Āgamas* and in Kālidāsa's 'Kumāra-Sambhava', the accounts given in the "Kumāra-Sambhava" of Kālidāsa and in the 36th and 37th chapters (*Sargas*) of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa (particularly the latter) are the most suitable here to explain satisfactorily the subject of the sculpture under description. For a better understanding of the subject the Rāmāyaṇa version is recorded here briefly.

After marrying Umā, the daughter of Himavān, Śiva spent a thousand years (in the reckoning of the Devas) sport-

ing and indulging in sexual love (*maithuna*) with her,¹ but no issue was born. The Devas including Brahmā were alarmed at the delay, more so as the issue-to-come out of Śiva's seed would naturally be of unbearable and extraordinary character and cannot therefore be borne by the worlds. They entreated him (Śiva) to practise with Umā "Brāhma-tapas" or austerity.² Though Śiva agreed, he wanted to know from them where he should discharge the seed that was already surging, what would become of the discharged seed and who would receive or bear it. The Devas desired him to let it on the earth and that Agni will enter it or receive the seed, helped by *Vāyu*.³ The implication was that the seed should not be let into Umā's womb, though Umā was longing for maternity. And Śiva denied her this longing, bound as he was by his promise to the Devas. And Agni, commissioned by Brahmā for the task, was waiting for the grand occasion. As soon as the seed began to flow from the *Ūrdhva-medhra* of Śiva, Agni sprang into position and received the whole discharge without allowing a drop to spill and thereby entered it. Denied of her privilege and pleasure to become a mother, Umā cursed the Devas that their wives should become barren. Agni who entered Śiva's seed, produced a white mountain, where Kumāra or Kārtikeya was born and came to be called "Agni-sambhava".⁴ The story is narrated in two places in the Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, in *sarga* 36, verses 6-23 and in *sarga* 37, verses 5-12.

The same subject caught the fancy of the great poet Kālidāsa who composed his immortal *Kumāra-sambhava* and described the event with characteristic poetic exaltation and imagination, adhering, however, to the Rāmāyaṇa version given above. Verse 14 in the 9th *sarga* of the *Kumāra-sambhava* is an unparalleled epitomisation of the story, bidding well to become the title as it were of the sculpture under description. The verse is quoted here for *sahṛidayānanda*:—

“yugāntakālāgnimivāviṣahyaṁ
parichyutam manmatharaṅgabhaṅgāt |
ratāntaretaḥ sa hiraṇyareta-
syathordhvaretāstadamoghamādhāt || ”

1. *Bālakāṇḍa*, 36th *Sarga*, v. 5-6.

2. *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 36, v. 10.

3. *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 36, vv. 14-17.

4. *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* 36, v. 18-19 - “yatra jāto mahātejāḥ Kārtikeyo'gnisambhavaḥ”.

Let us now examine the sculpture in the light of the details narrated above. Umā (head and upper torso broken) is lying with Śiva sitting in front against her thigh. The cot, and the attitude of both Umā and Śiva suggest their love-making (*maithuna*). Though seated by her side, Śiva is turning away from her and letting out the seed from his *Urdhva-medhra* in a surging and continuous flow, which is being received by Agni, who by pre-arrangement is sitting awaiting the occasion and the opportunity. Brahmā's commission to Agni was that when Śiva's seed would flow out to be received by the earth, he should spring up into position from his watch-post and helped by his friend Vāyu enter into it, or in other words receive it ably and completely without a drop spilling out. And in this sculpture Agni does his part very well. To emphasise the dramatic effect of the event and conforming to an early and well known practice in Indian Sculpture¹ he is shown on the left twice. He is shown first as in waiting at the extreme left end of the panel. His iconography is so faithful to the *Dhyānas* that his identification as Agni is easy even to a layman. An aureole of flames of fire (*prabhā-maṇḍala*) behind him, an *akṣhamālā* in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* of the Gupta type,² in his left hand and two-stranded *yajñopavīta* are associated with him answering well the *lakṣaṇa* of Agni.³ His head-dress is a

1. Cf. Goli, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures of the "Subjugation of Nalagiri"; T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist sculptures from a stūpa near Goli village, Guntur District*, p. 26, plate III-H.

2. Cf. Deogarh Nara-Nārāyaṇa sculpture of the first half of 6th century A.D. Smith, *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pl. 48; and *Bāgh* in Coomaraswamy and Kershaw, *A Chinese Buddhist water-vessel and its Indian prototype*, figs. 13, 17, 21, 22 and 23.

3. Text associated with *Śilparatna*:

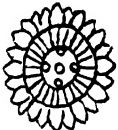

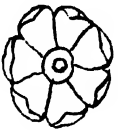


. Vahneḥ svarūpam vakshyāmi. . . .
ardhachandrāsanagatām. . . .
yuktam yajñopavītena lambakūrchenā śobhitam ||
. bhujadvayasamanvitam
dakṣiṇe chākṣasūtram syāt kare vāme kamaṇḍaluḥ ||
.
jvālābhis-saptaśīrṣheṇa śobhamāno mahādyutiḥ ||

Rūpamaṇḍana—

varadaḥ śaktihastas-cha samṛiṇāla kamaṇḍaluḥ |
jvālāpuñjanibho devo mēshārūḍho hutāśanaḥ ||

Pūrvakāraṇāgama—14th *paṭala*,

akṣhamālā cha śaktis-cha dakṣiṇe'dakṣiṇe'pi cha |
jvālāmālākulam. . . .

KHANDAGIRI 2 nd - 1 st cent B.C.	DEOGARH 6 th Cent. A.D.	BHUVANESWAR 6 th Century A.D.
		
		

LOTUS
SYMBOLISM

KUNDIKĀ

Sketch 1. Indian Art and Symbolism—the lotus and the *Kundikā*.

jaṭāmukuta of the Gupta type as in Deogarh¹ and the way he is holding the *kamaṇḍalu* is as in the figure of Brahmā also from Deogarh.² Agni is shown next as having moved to the right, close to Śiva and receiving in a kneeling attitude the flowing seed of Śiva in his hands arranged like a cup. The *akṣhamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* are not shown now as his hands are engaged in receiving Śiva's seed carefully so that not a drop can spill out. The aureole of flames is, however, shown behind him so that his identity cannot be mistaken. The upward flow of the discharged *retas* of Śiva who is here *ūrdhvarctas*, and its timely and opportune reception by *Hiraṇyaretas* or Agni has acquired in the hand of the great poet Kālidāsa a pun and alliteration to which he gives full vent in the verse quoted above.³

The left hand of Umā (which alone remains) touches her abdomen or her *nūbhi-deśa* indicating or conveying as it were the heart's desire of Umā to have the *retas* of her Lord in her womb and the pleasure of maternity, which as we saw she was denied by a ruse of the Devas to which her Lord had unfortunately agreed. She was therefore an unwilling spectator to the event for which she cursed the wives of the Devas with barrenness.

A solitary full-blown lotus can be made out above Śiva and between him and the kneeling Agni. According to the law of "container for the contained" the lotus stands for Brahmā whose seat is the lotus. In the whole story of "Kumāra-sambhava" he takes the lead and is present throughout as the head of the Devas. Here the lotus is located right in the centre of the scene as though thereby suggesting that Brahmā has his right place. The same is the case in the Gupta relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa from Deogarh.⁴ There, Brahmā seated on a full-blown lotus occupies his right place between his own *Mānasika-pautras*, viz., Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Owing to plenty of space, Brahmā and his *āsana* (the lotus) are both shown in the Deogarh relief. But here, only the lotus (full-blown) and in front view, is shown as though crammed into the available space. Obviously there was no space here for both the container and the contained. So the

1. Smith, *Ibid*, Plate 48; T. N. Ramachandran, *Fresh light on the Deogarh relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa* [I. H. Q. Calcutta, Vol. XXVII, No. 3. pp. 191-6.]

2. *Ibid*, Plate 48.

3. See above page 3—*Kumārasambhava*, sarga 9, v. 14.

4. Smith, *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plate 48.

latter (lotus) was put in to stand for the contained, *viz.*, Brahmā, according to the law of "symbolism" in early plastic art.

The occurrence of the lotus-*motif* here and its comparison with the Brahmā figure in Deogarh in the manner we have described above, afford clues to the dating of the sculpture. This coupled with other characteristics of the Gupta type present here and in Deogarh, *viz.*, similar *jaṭāmukuta*s of Agni and Śiva, and Brahmā and Nara and Nārāyaṇa, similar *kuṇḍikā* or *kamaṇḍalu* that Agni here and Brahmā, and Nārāyaṇa in Deogarh have, and the webbed fingers (*jālāṅguli*) of Śiva here and Nārāyaṇa in Deogarh and rosette designs on the shut double-door here and on the jamb of the Deogarh relief help us to assign the relief of "Kumāra-sambhava" to the first half of the sixth century A. D., the date to which the Deogarh relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa has been assigned.¹ The relief under description resembles also other known and popular Gupta sculptures such as Brahmā from Mathurā (I. M. No. 3730)² of the 6th century A.D., of Śiva and Arjuna in "Arjuna's penance" from Chandimau of the 5th century A. D. (I. M. No. 4617) in regard to *jaṭāmukuta* and two-stranded *yajñopavīta*, of Sārnāth Buddha figures of the 5th century A.D. in regard to webbed fingers (*jālāṅguli*), of a *mithuna* from Banaras (5th century A.D.) and Hara-Gaurī (inscribed) from Kosam (5th century A.D.), both of the Indian Museum in regard to a single and close necklet of beads, and again of the Hara-Gaurī figure from Kosam and the Chandimau pillar representing Arjuna's penance (both 5th century A.D.) in regard to the *ūrdhva-meḍhra* pose of Śiva. Thus the *ensemble* of evidence warrants the beginning of the 6th century A. D. as the date of the *Kumārasambhava* relief from Bhuvaneswar.

ASTĪKA

(PLATE 2)

The second sculpture, whose exact location of find is not traceable in the records of the Orissa Provincial Museum, is according to Sri K. C. Panigrahi, from somewhere in the Athgarh Sub-division near Cuttack. Sri Panigrahi also informed me that such images are common in Orissa and cited in proof one such image now loosely kept in the *jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple and another under a tree in front of

1. Smith, *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plates 78-80.

2. I. M. = Indian Museum, Calcutta.

a Gaṇeśa temple at the foot of the Dhauli hill, 3 miles south of the Liṅgarāja temple. The one in the Liṅgarāja temple is worshipped as the ideal wife Sāvitrī and her husband Satyavān, particularly on the day of Sāvitrī-Amāvāsyā. Sri Panigrahi also told me, as from Sri S. K. Saraswati, of the following legend popular in Bengal¹ but unheard of in Orissa, associated with such images:—

“Chānd (Chandra), a merchant-prince of Bengal and a staunch Śaivite, refused to pay homage to *Manasā*, the goddess of snakes. The goddess took her revenge on him by causing the death of six sons of his by snake-bite. The seventh and the last son was Lakṣmīdhara who had married a beautiful girl called Behula. To protect Lakṣmīdhara from possible snake-bite, King Chānd had built a house of stone in which the boy was spending his honeymoon with Behula. But *Manasā* had contrived to keep a hole in one of the walls, through which a snake entered at her bidding, and bit Lakṣmīdhara to death. But through the devotion of his wife Behula (*pāṭivratya*) he was restored to life.”

The theme of all the poems and ballads sung in Bengal in honour of the Snake-goddess *Manasā* centres round Chandra's early opposition to the worship of Śiva, though his women had accepted it, how he was obdurate and how he eventually became an unwilling convert after a stiff contest. According to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali,² the *Manasā* cult obtained a footing in Bengal in the 10th-11th century A.D., having perhaps come from South India, that a very large number of stone images of *Manasā* of the 10th-12th century have been found throughout Bengal, testifying to the popularity of the *Manasā* cult during the period, and that the merchant-prince Chānd (Chandra) of the legend, was perhaps a member of the family of the Chandra Kings of East Bengal, may be Śrī Chandra Deva himself, the most powerful prince of the family who ruled between 975-1000 A.D.

A brief description of the sculpture (plate 2) will help proper identification. A woman is seated on a *padmāsana* with her right leg pendant and a man seated on her lap, whom she

1. The legend is very popular in Bengal as CHAND SAUDAGAR story and has also appeared in the film.

2. “Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in Dacca Museum” pp. 224-5.

is holding as a mother would her child, by her left hand going round his neck and by her right hand drawing his thigh nearer to her. The woman's head is broken and missing. What remains shows her with full and prominent bosom, necklaces, *hāra*-like *yajñopavīta* in 3 strands, diaphanous *uttariya* arranged *yajñopavīta*-wise and indicated by many lines as in the Nālanda bronzes of the 8th-9th century A.D., *aṅgadas*, a number of *valayas* on the wrists, *nūpuras* on the legs, one of which (the right) has a foot-rest. The lotus-*āsana* is shown with its stem as in a majority of mediaeval sculptures of the Eastern School of Sculpture, to which Nālanda, Bengal and Orissa belonged. The man on the lap of the lady is adorned with a wealth of jewels, such as *nūpura* in the only leg (the left) exposed, waist-girdle with tassels and beads (*kinkini*), necklaces, long and flat *yajñopavīta*, wristlets, armlets, and *patra-kunḍalas*. His hair is arranged in an elegant *keśa-bandha* marked by bead courses and a jewel-clasp in front. He has well-trimmed and manicured whiskers and beard, both thin and young, looking more like decoration than growth. His left hand is stretched down indicating *varada*, while his right hand is raised over his head against the leaves of perhaps a *Snuhi* branch (*Euphorbia Antiquorum*; Bengali-*Sij*: In Bengal this leaf is called *Phaṇi-Manasā*). Below the *padmāsana* are shown a rearing or springing snake on the left and a woman-worshipper on the right, who kneels, facing the snake, with a basket of fruits and flowers in front and with her hands folded in *añjali* (worship). The hanging right leg of the goddess is shown between the kneeling woman and the serpent. The sculptural grouping of this part is as in early Pāla sculpture, the idea being that the worshipper is seeking from the deity or deities worshipped protection from the snake or snake-bite.

The upper part of the sculpture including the head of the woman is unfortunately missing. Hence we cannot determine if there were snake-hoods shown and the *Snuhi* tree present. A leaf or two, however, is left on the left above the man's head suggesting that the *Snuhi* tree was perhaps meant.

The existing details are sufficient to enable us to think of Manasā, or rather the lady Jaratkāru, the sister of the Nāga Vāsuki, wife of a Brahmin named Jaratkāru and mother of Astika, who was the hope and the saviour of the snakes, as the deity meant in the sculpture. We should forget Manasā and pursue the *Jaratkāru-Astika* identification in the present case



Plate 2. *Astika* from Orissa,
9th Century A.D.

जरत्कारोर्जरत्कार्वा समुत्पन्नो महायशाः ।
 अस्तीकस्सत्यसन्धो मां पन्नगेभ्योऽभिरक्षतु ॥
 अपसर्प सर्प भद्रं ते दूरं गच्छ महायशाः ।
 जनमेजयस्य यज्ञान्ते अस्तीकवचनं स्मरन् ॥ MBh.

as the latter is more popular in South India including Orissa than in Bengal. Besides, Manasā, though generally identified with Jaratkāru in Bengal, finds no place in the Mahābhārata or the *dhyānas* of South India. There is no indication in the Mahābhārata of the deification of Jaratkāru, as a snake-goddess, *Nāga-mātā* or mistress over the snakes, nor is she (Jaratkāru) credited with supreme knowledge (*mahājñāna*) and the power of counter-acting poison, the two important attributes of Manasā. Also, Kadru, and not Manasā was meant by the term “Nāga-mātā” in the Mahābhārata. As pointed out above, the Manasā cult as such obtained a footing in Bengal about the 10th century A. D. Our sculpture hails however from Athgarh in Orissa and appears on grounds of style to date from the 9th century A.D. and to be related to the early Eastern School of Sculpture that produced the famous Nālandā and Kurkiḥār images. The diaphanous *uttariya* of Jaratkāru arranged *yajñopavīta*-wise is worth mentioning in this context.

The legend of “Chānd and Lakshmidhara and Behula” referred to at the beginning is of no consequence as the sculpture in question is votive in purpose, meant for worship as the woman (kneeling) clearly indicates. The man is being held by the woman on her lap, as a mother would her son. All volition and effort to hold is on the woman’s side, while the man is the least concerned. He has his right hand raised above and left hand stretched down for *varada* as a boon-conferring deity would. If he were the lover Lakshmidhara, his position should be different—he will have his wife appropriately on his knee or lap instead of sitting on his wife’s as the sculpture shows, and would encircle her with one of his hands. The sculpture shows all care on the part of the woman to hold the man on her lap with a *motherly* rather than erotic tenderness. The man has young whiskers and stroke of beard; yet the jewels he wears are *nūṇpurās*, waist-girdle of *kinkinīs*, *patrakuṇḍalas* and clasp on *keśa-bandha*, clearly the results of a fond mother out to enjoy the sight of her decorated son. To a fond mother a grown-up son is yet a child! The “Chānd-Lakshmidhar-Behula” legend need not engage our attention any more, as the event was momentary, the hero was not meant to be deified, much less worshipped. Our sculpture is an image, votive in form and benedictory in purpose. The kneeling worshipper stands for *humanity* seeking protection from snake-

bites. This in short is the *intent* of the image which acquires special importance when its *content* is unfolded in the light of the *dhyāna* of *Jaratkāru* and *Astika*.

The snake, the worshipper, the child's jewellery and the pose of the man preclude the possibility of the *Sāvitrī-Satyavān*-identification.

Having cleared the probabilities, or (to speak correctly) improbabilities, let us examine the *dhyāna* of *Astika* and *Jaratkāru* on the lines of relevant verses in the *Mahābhārata*, which is current in South India and which every South Indian *Brāhmaṇa* recites as daily prayer during his *Sandhyā-vandana*:

Jaratkāror Jaratkārvām samutpanno mahāyāśaḥ |
Astikas satyasandho mām pannagebhyo abhirakṣatu ||
Apasarpa sarpa bhadraṁ te dūram gaccha mahāyāśaḥ |
Janamejayasya yajñānte Astikavacanam smaran ||

"The renowned *Astika*, the son of (the lady) *Jaratkāru*, born of *Jaratkāru*, who never allowed his promise to go in vain, I recall him to my mind—for protection from snakes.

"O blessed snake, of fame (= of virulent poison)—go away. Remember the words (of assurance) of *Astika* spoken at the end of the snake-sacrifice of *Janamejaya*."

The story of *Astika* as recorded in the *Ādi Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (*adhyāyas* 13-58) is as follows:—

Kadru and *Vinatā* were the wives of the patriarch *Kaśyapa*. The snakes (*Nāgas*) were *Kadru*'s children, while *Aruṇa*, *Sūrya*'s charioteer and *Garuḍa* were *Vinatā*'s. *Kadru* cursed her children (the snakes), for an act of disobedience, with destruction by fire at the *sarpa-yāga* of King *Janamejaya*. *Elāpatra*, one of the chief *Nāgas*, had a vision which he duly imparted to all the *Nāgas*, in which *Vāsuki*'s sister, *Jaratkāru*, would marry a *Brāhmaṇa* of the same name, and a son born of their union called *Astika* would by virtue of merit acquired by innocence and intelligence save the *Nāgas* from their threatened annihilation. The *Nāga*-chief *Vāsuki* brought up his sister with extreme care and affection. Knowing her mission in life and her priceless importance for their own safety, *Vāsuki* and the *Nāgas* were guarding her, anxiously awaiting sage *Jaratkāru*.

Jaratkāru was a nomadic Brāhmaṇa (*yāyāvāra*) leading a celibate life. A vision of his *pitrs* not only failing to go to heaven but actually about to fall into the hell of *put* because of his own childless state, made him think of marriage, but on conditions such as that the girl should also bear the name Jaratkāru, should be offered to him unsolicited, he should not have to maintain her and lastly he should be at liberty to leave her on her first offence, reserving to himself the right to determine if it was an offence or not. Vāsuki, the brother of the lady Jaratkāru, fulfilling the conditions, the two Jaratkārus married and lived with Vāsuki. All went well, and to the happiness of Vāsuki and the Nāgas the lady Jaratkāru came to be with child, when a trifling event such as the wife waking up her husband from an untimely nap, for performing his *sandhyā*, enraged Jaratkāru, who forthwith left her, assuring her, however, that she was with child, the purpose that her brother and kinsmen sought in their union. Sage Astika was born to the lady in time. He was the pride of the Nāgas. Though a boy, his asceticism became great;¹ he was gifted with many virtues and great intelligence.² He was a boy, yet he was grave³ and intelligent. He was like the lord of the celestials,⁴ Śūlapāṇi (Śiva). He grew up with great care in Vāsuki's palace to the infinite delight of the Nāgas and his mother, who having lost her husband concentrated all her affection on her son in compensation⁵ and the boy entered adolescence under the sunshine of Jaratkāru's vigil and unrivalled motherly affection.

The time had come for Kadru's curse to take effect. King Parikshit having died, being bitten by the Nāga Takshaka, his enraged son Janamejaya performed just for revenge a snake-sacrifice (*śarpa-yujña*), into the fire of which the snakes were falling one by one. Takshaka had taken shelter under Indra. When as a result of the sacrificial *mantras* he was dragged, even Indra could not save him. At the request of Vāsuki and the Nāgas, Jaratkāru implored her son Astika (a child to her but a great, grave and intelligent saint in the eye of the world) to go to Janamejaya and save the Nāgas by stopping the *yajña*. Astika did as bidden; he came to the *yajña* in time to save

1-5. Mahābhārata, *Adi, Astika Parva* 5, 48th *Adhyāya*, vv. 19, 21 and 22.

Takshaka whom he prevented from falling into the fire just by uttering the word "Stay, Stop". His personality was so captivating and his appeal so irresistible that the *sadasyas* of the snake-sacrifice and its performer (*yajamāna*), King Janamejaya, granted him his request and the sacrifice was stopped forthwith. There was great rejoicing when Astika returned to his mother and the Nāgas and a promise was taken on the occasion that snakes should refrain from biting anyone who uttered the name of Astika and the *dhyānas* quoted above.¹

In the light of the details of the story of Astika given above, we can readily recognise the sculpture (Pl. 2) as the creation of the *dhyāna*-verses current in the daily *sandhyā-vandana* of every South Indian Brāhmaṇa. The lady Jaratkāru sits on a *padmāsana* and holds on her lap with motherly affection her son Astika (albeit his adolescence) whom she has decked with jewels befitting a child or boy. Is he not her child?² Astika sits on his mother's lap with evident composure, the result of his affection for his mother and innocence, the latter virtue making him a saint even in the teens. His left hand indicates *varada* to the worshipper and his right hand is raised above against a *snuhi* branch (Bengali *Sij*). The kneeling woman below on the right, with a tray of flowers in front, evidently repeats the *dhyānas* and offers her worship to Astika for protection from the springing snakes shown in front of her and on the left. The sculpture recalls by its style of workmanship the best period of Bihar Sculpture such as Nālandā and Kurkiḥār produced in the 9th century A.D. The pearl-like *hāra*, diaphanous and *yajñopavīta*-wise *uttariya* in wavy lines, the armlet and the clasp in the necklet of Jaratkāru, the *padmāsana* which is a full-blown double-*padma* standing on its stem and the disposition of the worshipper and the snake on either side of it, are a few characteristic decorative and iconographic details that help us to class our sculpture with

1. See above page 10; Mahābhārata, *Ādi*, *Astika Parva* 5, *Adhyāya* 58, vv. 20, 24-26.

2. There is a proverb in Tamil which translated runs as, "Even the Delhi Bahadur Shah (Badshah) is to his mother a child",

Nālandā¹ and Kurkihār² in Bihar, and nearer home with Ratnagiri,³ Chauduar⁴ and Jājpūr⁵ in Orissa, and assign to it a similar date, *vis.*, 9th century A.D.

BIHAR.

1. Nālandā (1) Mañjuśrī-9434 (Indian Museum, Calcutta).
2. Kurkihār: (2) Tārā, K. R. 16 (Indian Museum, Calcutta).
 (3) Tārā (Indian Museum No. 5862).
 (4) Jambhala, K. R. 1 (Indian Museum).
 (5) Mārīchī (Indian Museum No. 3827).
 (6) Tārā (Indian Museum No. 308).
 (7) Maitreya (Indian Museum No. 3790).
 (8) Avalokiteśvara (Indian Museum No. 4473).

ORISSA.

3. Ratnagiri: (9) Avalokiteśvara (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate IV, fig. 4).
4. Chauduar: (10) Avalokiteśvara (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate VIII, fig. 2).
 (11) Tārā (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate VII, fig 4).
 (12) Prajñāpāramitā (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate VIII, fig. 3).
5. Jājpūr: (13) Vārāhī (see R. P. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, plate 1, fig. 1).

ITINERARY OF AN EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY PILGRIM FROM ASSAM IN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

BY

MAHESWAR NEOG, M.A.

*Lecturer in Assamese, Post-Graduate Department,
Gauhati University.*

Śaṅkaradeva (1449-1568 A.D.), a Kāyastha by caste, was responsible for the spread of the Bhakti cult in the province of Assam, at that time divided into Kāmarūpa ruled over by the Koc kings (called the Kuvācas in the *Yoginī Tantra*) and Asama under the administration of the Āhoms (Saumāras according to the same authority). The tenets of Assam Vaiṣṇavism were based mainly on the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Padma Purāṇa*, Svargakhaṇḍa, and according to some of the biographers of Śaṅkaradeva on the Vaiṣṇava *Sātrata Tantra* also. He stood square against the practices of Tantricism, of which Assam was then a veritable stronghold, and especially against blood sacrifices associated with all forms of Tantricism. The saint Śaṅkaradeva and his apostles Mādhavadeva (also a Kāyastha), Ananta Kandali and Rāma Sarasvatī (Brāhmaṇas) produced a vast mass of literature in the Assamese language—songs, verse-narratives, dramas, and so on, wherein they expounded the teachings of the cult, officially called *ekaśaraṇa nāmadharma* (Dr. B. Kakati: *Saṅkara Deva*, G. A. Natesan & Co., 1921; M. Neogi: "The Bhakti Cycle of Assamese Lyrics", *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. I). Organization of numerous *saṭras* or monasteries, which might be likened to Buddhist *viḥāras*, and *nāmghars*, village chapels, lit. 'houses for celebrating the name of God', followed and carried the message of *bhakti* far and wide into the country. These are still living institutions with extensive influence over Assam's countryside.

Śaṅkaradeva went on pilgrimage to different holy places outside Assam on two occasions—in the year 1481 A.D. at the age of thirty-two and again in about 1546 at the very ripe old age of about ninety-seven (M. Neog, *Śrī-Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva*, 1948, §§. 16-23, 56-60). On the second occasion he did not move beyond Śrī-puruṣottama-kṣetra, where he stayed for

three fortnights only. In his earlier sojourn however he did not turn home for twelve long years. On both occasions his main centre of interest was Śrī-puruṣottama-kṣetra, where most possibly he met all sorts of religious people from Northern and Southern India and came in contact with the currents and cross-currents of the social upheaval that was at that time boiling in the veins of India. His travels in the various centres of learning and of religious importance in Northern and Southern India had not a little to do with the part he played in bringing about a religious, social and cultural reformation in the country. We have several old biographies of the saint and his associates (*gurucarits*) in verse as well as in prose, which provide a great mass of information about Śaṅkaradeva and his times. The prose biographies are generally the more detailed. All these however do not tell us what were the particular spots of interest Śaṅkaradeva visited in the various places and what people of what particular schools of belief he held discourses with, in order to give us the clue to the different shades of his religious ideology and practices.

Śaṅkaradeva started with seventeen persons in his company in 1481 from his native place Bardowā in the modern district of Nowgong, Assam. On his way he bathed in the rivers Punarbhavā and Karatoyā and reached the banks of the Ganges in two months and twenty-one days from the start. He stayed on the Ganges for nine days. It took him ten days from there to arrive at Gayā, where he camped on the side of the river Phalgu for three days. He returned in another ten days' time to the Ganges and from there took three weeks to reach Śrī-puruṣottama-kṣetra, where he stayed for four or five months and talked of the greatness of god Jagannātha from the *Brahma Purāṇa* to the temple priests. According to one biographer, Rāmānanda Dviṇa, Śaṅkaradeva met Caitanyadeva (1485-1533) here; but the statement is apparently baseless. He then started out to Vṛndāvana and according to one authority, after travelling for five fortnights came across and initiated into his cult Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmīs. Other biographers hold that these two Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana became Śaṅkara's disciples at Vṛndāvana on the side of the Kāliya lake. It is added in a prose *carit* from Bardowā that before this they belonged to the school of Harivyāsa. But it is well-known that they were staunch followers and two

of the greatest exponents of Caitanyaism (Dr. S. K. De, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, 1942, pp. 108ff). So it remains to be investigated if they had any affiliation to Assam Vaiṣṇavism before they were converted to the Caitanya cult in about 1513 (S. Basu, *Vidagdha-mādhava*, intro, pp. xxii ff. M. T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya Movement*, 1925, pp. 45ff).

Śaṅkaradeva passed through Sītakuṇḍa, Uttaravāhini Gaṅgā, Varāha-kṣetra, Puṣkariṇī-tīrtha, Mathurā (where he passed six months), and Dvārakā before he reached Vṛndāvana. From the different accounts it would appear that Rūpa and Sanātana's place was somewhere to the east of Sītakuṇḍa, because they and Rūpa's wife are said to have followed the Assam pilgrims up to that place.

There are a few other persons from Śaṅkara's native province who accepted him as their religious preceptor. In the *Kathā-gurucarit*, a prose biography of the saints, it is stated that one poet Gopinātha, one *saṁnyāsini* named Rādhā, Vṛndāvanadāsa of Vṛndāvana and a Kṣatriya named Ramākānta were initiated at Puṣkara-tīrtha, Gokula, Kāliya-hrada and Upa-Dvārakā, respectively. Sārvabhaumapati Bhaṭṭācārya, a contemporary and disciple of the saint, adds that another *saṁnyāsini* Trijaṭā took refuge in the faith of Śaṅkaradeva at Vrajjadhāma; that Viṣṇudatta, the son of a *pāṇḍā* of Jagannātha, also became his follower; and that there were altogether ten non-Assamese disciples of the saint. There are a few songs in Assamese ascribed popularly to Vṛndāvanadāsa, the famous Hindi poet of Vṛndāvana. When Śaṅkara started on the second pilgrimage, his intention was to reach as far as Vṛndāvana so as to be able to see Vṛndāvanadāsa in person.

The *Kathā-gurucarit* makes a long list of places visited by Śaṅkaradeva and his companions on this occasion after they had left Vṛndāvana, although the enumeration does not seem to be in the proper order.

Hastināpura, Kurukṣetra and Badarikāśrama;
the kingdoms of Nepāla, Niṣadha, Kaikeya, Kośala,
Draviḍa, Pāñcāla and Śveta-dvīpa;
the sacred rivers Karmanāśā, Keśari, Kāverī and
Payasvinī;
Mārgakāśī, Bindukāśī, Kauśika-mahātīrtha, Mṛkuṇḍa-
āśrama;

the rivers Puṣṣabhadra, Soṇāru, Kapilā, Gaṇḍakī;
Mathurā, Upa-Dvārakā, Rukmiṇi-nagara, Aṅgada-
nagara, Candrāvati-grāma, Rāmeśvara-Setu-
bandha and Sitākunḍa, Subāhu;

Kauśika-yajñabhūmi, Bidiśa-nagara, Daṇḍaka-
vana (Citrakūṭa);

the rivers Godāvarī and Gomatī;

Takṣaka-nagara, Pañcaviṭi-tīrtha, Pampā-sarovara;

Ṛṣyamūha-parvata, Kiṣkindhā-nagara, Puṣkarā-
vatī, Bharadvāja-kṣetra, Haridvāra-kṣetra and
Jayadvāra;

the rivers Narmadā and Mahānandā.

Śaṅkara at last came to Kaṭaka-nagara (Cuttack), Urichā (Uriṣā)-deśa with Oreṣā-purī, Śrī-puruṣottama-kṣetra. He visited the *pañca-tīrthas* of the *kṣetra* and halted there for a year, the twelfth year of his long journey. He visited Kapilā-āśrama at Jāhnavī-mohanā, had a holy bath in the Kālindī (Yamunā) and again in the Punarbhavā and Karatoyā, and reached back home in 1493 when a quarter of one night had advanced.

The verse biographies, which are the nearest to Śaṅkara-deva in point of time, do not provide much detail of the travels and some of them do not even mention any place in Southern India. There is, however, a great degree of similarity between the cult of Śaṅkara and Rāmānujācārya's Śrī-vaiṣṇavism, which leads us to believe that Śaṅkara was greatly influenced by the latter exponent of Vaiṣṇavism (Dr. B. Kakati, *The Mother Goddess Kāmākhya*, pp. 76ff). And it is not clear to us how these influences were imbibed by Śaṅkara.

Śaṅkaradeva went out on pilgrimage a second time in about 1546, this time from Barpetā in the modern Kāmrūp district in the company of one hundred and twenty disciples. But the saint's wife requested Mādhavadeva, his close associate and dearest disciple, not to take him as far as Vṛndāvana lest he would not return home. The pilgrims stayed at Ālī-nagara (Alipurduar, a Railway station in north Bengal?) one night and for another night at Bhelā (in the modern district of Cooch Behar, where there is a *satra* established by Śaṅkaradeva himself with the aid of king Naranārāyaṇa).

According to the *Kathā-gurucarit*, the pilgrims met Caitanya-deva at Nadiyā-Gopinātha (Nud'ea). The biographer Rāma-carāṇa places the meeting at Caitanya's own village; Rāma-carāṇa's son Daityāri mentions it to have happened in Caitanya's *maṭha*; while according to Bhūṣaṇa Dviṇa and the prose *carit* from Bardowā they met at Jagannātha-kṣetra. But any such meeting does not seem to be possible on the simple ground that Caitanya had already died in 1533 (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Ādikhaṇḍa, pariccheda 13). The last-named biography also says that Rāmānanda of the South and Harivyaṣa were also met by Śaṅkara, while the *Kathā-gurucarit* adds a few other celebrities of the time to the people assembled at the shrine of Jagannātha. This also is imaginary in so far as the consideration of time is set aside in making the statement. All the several biographies describe how Śaṅkara visited Kabīr's *maṭha* and met only his grand-daughter, Tarachi, Tarochi or Torachi; but while some of them suppose that Kabīr was alive at the time, the other accounts take him to have already died. Kabir actually died in the year 1518 A.D. (Rev. Dr. F. E. Keay, *Kabir and His Followers*, 1931, pp. 27f; Ramkumar Verma, *Kabir-padāvalī*, intro., pp. x-xii). There are a few songs ascribed to Kabīr. Śaṅkaradeva himself sings in his *Kīrtan-ghoṣā*:

ureṣa bārāṇasī thāve thāve |
kabīra-gīta śiṣṭasāve gāve ||

'The learned sing the songs of of Kabīr in places like Ureṣā (Orissa) and Banaras.'

This possibly is a reference to the *dohās* of Kabīr, so very popular at that time. Before reaching the Ganges the pilgrims stayed at a place Bināigañj, apparently in Bengal, and from another place Nelāi-hāṭ turned south to Puruṣottama-kṣetra. They crossed the Ganges at Dolāmāri-ghāṭ, took a ceremonial bath in the river at Jiyāgañj, and crossed the Kātuwā Gaṅgā. On the way they touched upon Nābhigayā (where they had a *darśana* of Varāha Viṣṇu), and travelled for four days to reach the Mahānadī. They walked along the sea-shore for some time and stayed at a place Tulasī-grāma for a single night and reached Aṭhāra-nalā in the vicinity of the *kṣetra*.

After staying at Puruṣottama-kṣetra for some time the pilgrims started for their own place. On their way they met a *saṁnyāsī*, who described himself as Rūpa and Sanātana's

nephew. In some accounts the man was sent out by Rūpa and Sanātana to enquire of the progress of Śaṅkaradeva's religious activities; but according to others the Gosvāmīs were then long dead. Rāmacaraṇa says that the pilgrims visited the village of Bilvamaṅgala (some verses of whose Kṛṣṇa-stotra are utilised by Mādhavadeva in his dramas). The *Kathā-gurucarit* gives the names of a number of places through which Śaṅkaradeva and the other pilgrims passed. They reached Tulasīcarā the day after they had started, Cātigopālpur the next day and Cuttack a few days after. They crossed the Mahānandā and halted at Baitaraṇī Jāhādpur and then at Bāleśvar-bandar on the Budhā river. They then reached and stayed at Bardhamāna on the Dāmodara, Kamār-pukhuriyā, Nadiyā Gopīnātha, Sāntipur, Kātuwā, Gaṅgā-trivenī-mukh, Kācimgañj, Mucoyābāj, Jaṅginpur on the Ganges and Bhagan-golā. They crossed the Padmā at Bhaktipur-ghāt, and halted at Pukhuriyāgañj. They bathed in the Jāhnavī (Ganges), stayed at Khājarpur, Cantāgañj, Silimpur, Mohanā Gaṅgā, Binājpur on the Karatoyā (Dinājpur?). They crossed the Karatoyā and halted at Govindagañj, and crossed the river Kistā (Tistā) and remained for some time in Ghorāghāt of Matsya-rāja. They crossed the Gaurāṅga and reached Siṅgiyāgañj, a village belonging to prince Cīlārāi or Sukladhvaja of Cooch Behar. After that they arrived at village Khāñcipurgañj on the river Naliyā. Here they met a band of robbers in the guise of Rāmaīt Saṁnyāsis. The pilgrims finally crossed the Soṅkoṣ on the western border of the present Assam, thus terminating their travels which extended from the month of Āgrahāyana to the month of Vaiśākha.

The holy places and rivers visited by Śaṅkaradeva especially those of the first occasion are arranged below in alphabetical order with notes of a general interest from the biographies. An attempt is also made to identify the places. In this I have much to rely on N. L. Dey's *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, second edition, London, 1927.

Āṅgadiyā-nagara—Anagandi (ancient Kiṣkindhā)? In the text this is described as the capital of Lakṣmaṇa's son.

Ayodhyā—modern Oudh, the place of Rāmacandra, an incarnation of God. The pilgrims rested under a tree, said to have been planted by the demon-women of

Laṅkā who came there along with Sītā. This was a wonder tree which took away man's hunger and thirst.

Baidyanātha—Karmanāśā—Baidyanāth or Deoghar in the Sāntāl Parganā, with the temple of Baidyanātha, one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahādeva. The river Karmanāśā, described as being brought there by the demon-king Rāvaṇa during some war, is to the north.

Badarikāśrama—Betrakūṭa—Badrināth in the Garwal district in U.P. "It is a peak of the main Himalayan range, about a month's journey from Hardwar and 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagara" (Dey). Here the pilgrims saw Uddhava (his image?) and the Betrakūṭa mountain down from which Gaṅgā (the Ganges) descended upon the head of Mahādeva. At Badarikāśrama Śaṅkaradeva composed what seems to be the first Brajabuli poem in Eastern India, *mana mcri Rāma-cāraṇaḥi lāgu*. (M. Neog, "The Bhakti Cycle of Assamese Lyrics" *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. I.)

Bārānasī—Kāśī—modern Benaras. It is described in the *carits* as Viśveśvara-sthāna, Viśveśvara being the presiding deity and one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahādeva. The Viśveśvara image of Mahādeva is also noticed by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang in his account. This has since been destroyed by Aurangzeb.

Betrakūṭa—See Badarikāśrama.

Bhāgīrathī—Cilipura-ghāṭa—The pilgrims took their holy bath at this bathing ghat on the Ganges, which seems from the description to be in Bengal.

Bharadvāja-kṣetra—same as Bharadvāja-āśrama in Prayāga or Allahabad? It is described as situated in Na(n)-digrāma near the Bindhya mountains.

Bidiśa-nagara—Bhilsa in Malwa in the kingdom of Malwa. Rāmacandra apportioned Bidiśa to Śatrugghna's son Śatrugghātī (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara., ch. 121). In the text it is described as "the place of Sucaritā" (Śatrugghātī?).

Bindhya-giri—See Nandigrāma.

Bindu-Kāśī—Binduvāsinī in the Mirzapore district in U.P.? This place is said to have been reached by the pilgrims after they had visited Mārga-Kāśī (q. v.).

Candrāvati—same as Candrāvati or Jhalrapattan in Rajputana? In the *carit* it is described as “*Śikhara bhūmi Chandraketur nagara*”, the capital of king Candraketu.

Cilipura-ghāṭa—See Bhāgīrathī.

Citrakūṭa—Kāmpṭānāth-giri in Bundelkhand. It is an isolated hill on the river Paisunī (Payasvinī) or Mandākinī. Here the pilgrims visited the place where Rāmacandra lived when in exile.

Daṇḍaka—The forest of Daṇḍaka, the place where Rāmacandra lived while in exile, comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Kṛṣṇā. The pilgrims saw here the very place, it is said, where Rāma lived, where Śūrpaṇakhā's nose and ears were lopped off, and where the demons Khara and Dūṣaṇa were killed.

Draviḍa—“Part of the Deccan from Madras to Seringapatam and Cape Comorin ; the country south of the river Pennar or rather Tripati (Tirupati)” (Dey).

Dvārakā—Dwaraka in Gujraṭ. See Rukmiṇī-mandira.

Gaṇḍakī r.—The Gandak which rises in the Sapt Gandaki or Dhavalgiri range of the Himalayas and enters the plains at a place called Trivenī-ghāṭ. The river is said to have been born of the sweat of the cheeks (*gaṇḍa*) of Viṣṇu in the course of his performing austerities.

Gaṅgā—Kapila-āśrama—Jāhnavī-mohanā. The hermitage of the sage Kapila was situated in the island of Sāgara near the mouth of the Ganges. The ruins of a temple dedicated to the sage is still to be seen there.

Gayā—Phalgu—Gayā is situated between the Rāmsīla hill on the north and the Brahmayoni hill on the south of the river Phalgu. In the southern part of Gayā is the new temple of Viṣṇupada built on the site of one of much antiquity. Here the pilgrims offered *piṇḍa* to the manes in the sands of the small river Phalgu.

Godāvārī r.—in Southern India. There is a temple on the bank of the river on the spot where Rāmacandra crossed it.

Gokula—See Vṛndāvana. It is situated at a distance of six miles from Mathurā.

Gomatī r.—the Gumti in Oudh.

Govardhana—See Vṛndāvana.

Haridvāra-kṣetra—(also called Haradvāra) modern Hardwar, situated on the Ganges where it enters the plains from the Sivalik hills.

Hastināpura—north-east of Delhi. The pilgrims, the *carit* goes to say, visited Vidura's āśrama here.

Indraprastha—Old Delhi, the capital of the Pāṇḍavas.

Jagannātha—See Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra.

Jayadvāra (?)—This place is mentioned along with Haridvāra.

Kaikeya—Kekaya, the country between the Bias and the Sutlej, the kingdom of Kaikeyi's father.

Kaiśalya—the ancient kingdom of Kośala—Oudh—divided into Kośala and North Kośala.

Kālindī r.—The Yamunā (See Vṛndāvana) rising in the mountainous region of Kalinda-deśa, whence the name.

Kapilā—a river in Mysore.

Kapila-āśrama—See Gaṅgā.

Karatoyā r.—See Punarbhavā. This name is explained by the *Kālikā Purāṇa* by saying that it was formed from the sweat flowing from Śiva's hand.

Karmanāśā r.—See Baidyanātha.

Kāśī—See Bārāṇasī.

Kaṭaka-nagara — Urichā-deśa — Oreṣā-purī—Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra—See Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra.

Kauśika-yajñabhūmi—the place where the sage Kauśika made sacrifices to the gods in Subāhu-nagara (q.v.).

Kauśika-mahātīrtha—(1) the confluence of the Dṛṣadvatī (Chitang) and Kauśikī (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 12), 17 miles to the south of Thāneśvar? (2) Mahā-kauśika—"It is formed by the seven Kosis of Nepal, which are the Milamchi, the Sun Kosi (Sona Kosi) or the Bhotia Kosi, the Tamba Kosi, the Likhu Kosi, the Dudha Kosi, the Aruna...and the Tamor" (Dey.)

Kāverī r.—a river in Southern India rising in a mountain in Coorg.

Keśarī r.—the Keśavatī or Viṣṇumatī in Nepal?

Kiṣkindhā-nagara—Kiṣkindhā or Anagandi, a small hamlet on the south bank of the r. Tungabhadra, 3 miles from Vijayanagara.

Kurukṣetra—modern Thāneśvar. The *carit* says that in Kurukṣetra there is some Bhakti-hāṭa or the Market of Devotion, where Kṛṣṇa bestowed on the Gopīs (cowherdresses of vraja) divine knowledge.

Kuśāvatī-pura—the capital of (south) Kośala, founded by Kuśa, the son of Rāmacandra.

Madārgañj—in Bengal?

Mahānandā r. (1) the river Mahānandā, a course of the Tistā or the river Nandā in Bengal. (2) the river Mahānadi in Orissa (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 3).

Mārga-Kāśī—Probably Vyāsa-Kāśī (Kāśī-madhyā or Kāśī-mārga in Śaṅkaradeva, *Bhakti-Pradīpa*, verse 126).

Mathurā—modern Muttra, the birth-place of Kṛṣṇa. According to one account Śaṅkaradeva stayed here for six months.

Mṛkaṇḍa-āśrama—Mārkaṇḍeya-tīrtha at the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ganges (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 16).

Na(n)di-grāma—Vindhya-giri—Bharadvāja-āśrama. The hermitage of sage Bharadvāja is said to have been situated in the village Nandi-grāma near the Vindhya mountains. See Bharadvāja-āśrama. Nandi-grāma is the same as Nund-gāon in Oudh (where Bharata lived when Rāmacandra was in exile)?

Narmadā r.—the modern Nerbuda.

Nepāla—the kingdom of Nepal.

Niṣadha—the ancient kingdom of Nala on the right bank of the Sindh.

Pampā-sarovara—about two miles to the east of Kiṣkindhā or Anagandi. There is a river, the Pampā, which falls into the Tungabhadra.

Pañcāla—Rohilkhand. "Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himalaya to the river Chambal". (Dey).

Pañcatīrtha—See Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra.

Pañcavaṭī—modern Nasik on the Godāvarī. Here the pilgrims saw the place where Rāvaṇa killed the bird Jaṭāyu in a tough fight and where the latter was cremated by Rāmacandra.

Payasvinī r.—the river Paisunī or Palar in Southern India. (*Bhāgavata P.*, XI,v).

Phalgu r.—See Gayā.

Praśnāvati-nagara—said to be founded by Lava, son of Rāmacandra. Possibly Lavapura or Lavakoṭa, modern Lahore, is meant which is said to have been founded by Lava (*Tod's Rajasthan*, I, p. 224).

Prayāga—modern Allahabad. Here the river Yamunā pours into the Ganges. The pilgrims had their heads shaved here according to the prevailing custom and then saw the holy Brahmavaṭa. Iliuen Tsiang mentions the Deva temple here and says, "Before the hall of the temple there is a great tree with the spreading boughs and branches and casting a deep shadow".

Punarbhavā (Pūrṇabhavā) r.—Karatoyā r.—Punarbhavā, Karatoyā and Mahānandā make the three courses of the Tistā. Karatoyā flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra.

Puṣkara-tīrtha—the Puṣkara lake six miles from Ajmir. Here a local poet Gopinātha took Śaṅkaradeva as his religious preceptor.

Puṣkarāvati—or Puṣkalāvati, the old capital of Gāndhāra. It is said to have been founded by Rāmacandra's brother Bharata after the name of his son Puṣkala, who was placed here as king (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, Chs. 101, 114). In the *carit* it is called the place of Bharata's son.

Puṣpabhadra r.—the river Puṣpavatī or Pambai in Travancore?

Rāmeśvara-Setubandha—Rāmeśvaram or Setubandha (Setukhaṇḍa in the text), a small island in the extreme south with the celebrated temple of Rāmeśvara-nātha, one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahādeva. There is a place, Rāmajharakā, one and a half miles away from the Rāmeśvara temple, containing the impression of Rāmacandra's feet. The pilgrims bathed near the Adam's Bridge.

Ṛśyamūka-parvata—a mountain situated on the Tuṅga-bhadra. Here Hanumān and Sugrīva met Rāmacandra (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Kišk., ch. 4). The pilgrims visited the place where five monkey chiefs took refuge in Rāmacandra.

Rukmiṇī-mandira—the abode of Kṛṣṇa's chief consort Rukmiṇī, in Dwaraka in Gujarat.

Sarayū r.—the Ghagra or Gogra in Oudh.

Setubandha—See Rāmeśvara-Setubandha.

Sītakuṇḍa—Candra-tīrtha from the hot spring of which the Kāverī originates. Here Sītā had to stand Rāmacandra's fire-ordeal.

Soṇārū r.—The river Soṇā (*Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma., ch. 9) Soṇā (*Vāyu P.*), Soṇa (modern Sone) or Hiranyabāhu (*Amarakośa*). It rises from the Gaṇḍavana and falls into the Ganges near Pāṭaliputra.

Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra—The pilgrims "bathed in the Mahānandā, stayed at Kaṭakanagara (Cuttack) in the country Urichā (Orissa) of Bargī (?) kings and at last saw Oreṣā-purī Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra, the place of Jagannātha, a veritable Vaikuṇṭha on earth". The five sacred spots they visited here in Puri are together called *Pañca-tīrtha*: Śveta-Gaṅgā, Mārkaṇḍeya, Candana Sarovara (Candantalāo or Narendra tank where the Candana-yātrā of Jagannātha takes place in the month of Vaiśākha), Indradamana (Indradyumna Sarovara) and Lokanātha. They also bathed in the Sindhurāja and the Pātālī-Gaṅgā. They then entered the Deva's temple and saw Dvārakānātha, Hanumān, Jāmbavān, Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva, Yama, Bali, Brahmā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Ghunucā, Ugrasena, Caitanya-Bāṅkiyādhārī Kṛṣṇa, Govardhanadhārī (Kṛṣṇa), Nṛsimha, Śrī-Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna, Nanda, Yaśodā, Vasudeva, Devakī, Ekādaśī (Ekānamśa or Sāvitrī?), Garuḍa, Hara and Gaurī and other deities. Śaṅkaradeva stayed at Puri for an year and every evening explained the *Brahma Purāṇa* and related the story of king Indradyumna's setting up the wooden image of Jagannātha at Puri. According to one account, Viṣṇudatta and others, all sons of Pāṇḍās of Jagannātha accepted Śaṅkaradeva as spiritual preceptor. At the close of one year's stay there, the pilgrims had the holy sight of Kṛṣṇa,

Balabhadra, Subhadrā and the Brahmavaṭa, bathed in the sea and left the great holy place.

Subāhu-nagara—described in the *carita* as the capital of Safrughna's son (?) and as the place where the demons Mārīca and Subāhu were killed. Dey says: "In the village called Saikhera, at a short distance from Nasik, Rāmachandra is said to have killed Mārīca who had beguiled him from his hut."

Śvetadvīpa—an ancient kingdom.

Takṣaka-nagara—Takṣa-śilā, said to have been founded by Rāmacandra's brother Bharata after the name of his son, Takṣa, placed there as king. From the account in the *carita* it seems that the pilgrims reached this place after they had crossed the Gumti.

Urichā—See Śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetra.

Varāha-kṣetra—in the Purnea district. According to one biography Śaṅkaradeva completed his fortieth year at this place.

Vṛndāvana—Gokula-Yamunā. Here in Vṛndāvana Śaṅkaradeva stayed on the Kālindī (Yamunā), took the ceremonial bath in the Kālī(ya)-hrada (the lake of the serpent Kālīya on the Yamunā), and remained for sometime under the shade of the Kadamba tree on its bank. It is here, the *carita* goes on to tell us, that the famous Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmīs and Vṛndāvana-dāsa were initiated into the Bhakti cult by Śaṅkaradeva. This seems to be very doubtful for want of definite evidence. But the legend cannot be brushed aside as impossible. In Rūpa's *Vidagdha-Mādhava Nāṭaka* the Sūtradhāra is made to say, "To-day I have been commanded in a dream by Bhaktāvatāra Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva (to produce this drama)". It has been pointed out (M. Neog, *Śrī-Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva*, p. 28) that this might very well be a reference to Śrī-Śaṅkaradeva of Assam. The twelve groves of Vṛndāvana are thus enumerated: Luha (Loha), Muha (Mahā), Lāla (?), Tāla, Kuñja (Kumuda ? or Kuṇḍa?), Muñja (?), Nikuñja, Khajura (?), Aśoka, Bhāṇḍīra, Kāmya (Kāmyaka), Khidra (Khadira?). The pilgrims also visited Keśī-ghāṭa (where the horse-demon Keśī was killed) and Vamśī-vaṭa, took the holy bath again in the Yamunā and stayed for some days at Govardhana. The little town of Gobardhan is the celebrated Govardhana hill on the banks of the tank Mānasa-Gaṅgā, eighteen miles away from Vṛndāvana (Dey).

Yamunā r.—See Kālindī, Vṛndāvana.

PRĀCĪNA-PADYĀVALĪ OF DIVĀKARA
SON OF MAHĀDEVA—1685 A.D.¹

By

K. VENKATESWARA SARMA

Prācīna-Padyāvalī is a little known anthological work of Divākara, son of Mahādeva and grandson on the paternal and maternal sides respectively of Bālakṛṣṇa and Nīlakaṇṭha. Author of the Dharmaśāstrasudhānidhi, Divākara, like other members of his family, is more reputed as a writer on Dharmaśāstra. Here, I propose to draw attention to this work of his in the literary field. Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum notes a Padyāvalī under a Divākara¹ but nowhere notes a manuscript of the work. This seems to be the only reference to the work and no manuscript of it has yet been brought to the notice of scholars. The Travancore University Manuscripts Library acquired recently two manuscripts of the work, both from Benaras and probably from the same collection. These form the basis of the following analysis and study of work.²

Both the Mss., (Nos. 7073 and 1770),³ are roughly of the same size (10"×5") in old country paper written in Devanāgarī script. Both are complete, except that in the latter (No. 1770) four folios, Nos. 136-39, are missing and a lacuna of 18 verses occurs on folio 164 which is left blank except for three lines on the obverse. The titles of sections and numbers of verses are generally marked with red pigment. From the different writings in both the Mss., it can be gathered that several scribes have contributed to their transcription. The Mss. have also gone through the hands of revisors, though scribal

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1. CC, Vol. I, p. 253b; but not under our author Divākara who comes later in the same page.

2. I understand from Sri S. L. Katre, Ujjain, that there is a third manuscript of the work in the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain (No. 985).

3. The folios of the Ms. referred to in this paper pertain to the first one, viz., No. 7073.

errors still abound. Both Mss. have the same date of transcription, and common gaps are not uncommon. But there are also many instances of lacunae occurring in one but not in the other, which fact rules out the possibility of one being the source of the other. It is presumed, therefore, that neither is the original with the date marked in them but that both are derived from the same original indirectly and independent of each other.

The work opens with a prayer to the Sun, the favourite deity of the author.

f. 1b:

उत्पत्त्यादिप्रकर्तारं हर्तारं तमसः परम् ।
 दातारं सर्वकामानां तं भजेऽहं विकर्तनम् ॥
 इहैके शैवाः सन्त्यपर उदिताः शक्तिपरमा-
 स्ततोऽन्ये गाणेशाः कतिचिदपरे वैष्णवतमाः ।
 त एते मार्तण्ड ! प्रति परमुखेन स्वत उत
 प्रयान्ति त्वामेवाखिलसुसरितो वारिधिमिव ॥

The nature of the work and Divākara's authorship of the compilation are stated next.

f. 1b:

अथेह किलाखिललोकप्रमोदनिदानरूपां शार्ङ्गधराद्यखिलव्रज्यागणा-
 खर्वगर्वनिर्वापणोद्गुरां गद्यदण्डकयुतां सकृच्छन्दोलक्षणाम् आनन्दकिरणां
 भारद्वाजकुलावतंस-सकलबुधगणमुकटमध्यमणि-तर्कादिशास्त्रज्ञ-श्रीमहादेवभट्टानां
 पुत्रः श्रीमदद्वैतमीमांसासाम्राज्याचार्य-धर्मशास्त्रस्वतन्त्र-विश्वामित्रकुलजलधि-
 कौस्तुभ-भट्टनीलकण्ठभट्टानां दौहित्रः उभयकुलविचित्रः स्वधर्मपवित्रः सेवितमित्रः
 प्राप्तसुचरित्रो गुणनिकरः सुखकरोऽतिचतुरः परोपकारपरो दिवाकरः
 प्राचीनपद्यावलीं वितनुते । तत्रादौ पद्योपक्रमकिरणः—

सद्वृत्तां जातिसंयुक्तां छन्दोलक्षणसंयुताम् ।
 महादेवात्मजो धीमान् भारद्वाजोपनामकः ॥
 आलीं प्राचीनपद्यानां कुरुते वै दिवाकरः ।
 अनर्घराघवादींश्च ग्रन्थान् श्रीक्ष्योपकारि(णीम् ? णः) ॥
 आसेचनानि पद्यानि हृद्यानि विविधान्यपि ।
 लिख्यन्तेऽत्रानवद्यानि स्वाद्यान्येव पराणि हि ॥

Next, the author recounts the subjects dealt with.

f. 1b:

तत्रादावाशिषः पञ्चाद्भाषितानां प्रशंसना ।

काव्यशंसा (f. 2a) कवीनां च प्रशंसा तु विपश्चिताम् ॥

धर्माख्यानादि यत्सर्वं पद्यावल्यां समासतः ।

अन्योक्तयः सुधासिक्ताः शृङ्गारादि विरच्यते ॥

एतेषां पद्यानां पद्यावक्त्रं छन्दः । लक्षणं त्वग्रे वक्ष्यते ।

The work ends:

f. 156b:

अथ ग्रन्थोपसंहारकिरणः—

या दुग्धा कविदोग्धृभिः पटुनैः सा सूक्तिधेनुस्तथा-

प्यूधो दुग्धचयेन वर्धयति किं धूर्णं यतो दृश्यते ।

खल्यामेव ततो दिवाकर इति प्राचीनपद्यावलीं

तेने ; तेन स मण्डलान्तरगतो नारायणः प्रीयताम् ॥

(शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्)

इष्टास्तु दृष्टा बहवोऽपि देवा-

स्तथापि सेवा मम रोचतेऽस्य ।

के वा न भास्वन्तममुं सुपूज्य

ये वासनां प्राप्य भवाद्विमुक्ताः ॥

Next follow three more verses on the Sun. Then occurs:

f. 157a:

रामचन्द्र ! तव पादसेवनं

मानसं भवति यस्य शासनम् ।

तस्य जन्म सफलं सुजीवितं

जीवितं च किमु तेन लभ्यते ॥

Three more verses in praise of Rāma follow. The author then concludes the work:

f. 157a:

विज्ञापनेयं करसम्पुटेन

विज्ञेष्वाविज्ञेष्वापि सादरं मे ।

आसेचनानीति सुयोजितानि

प्राचीनपद्यानि मया हितानि ॥

(इन्द्रवज्रा)

पद्यावलीयं सरसा मया कृता

मूयन्धिसिन्धुद्ववचन्द्रसंयुते⁴ ।

संवत्सरे भाद्रपदे सिते तियो

षष्ठ्यां सुपूर्णा खखहस्ति (f. 157b) वह्निभिः⁵ ॥

(उपेन्द्रवज्रा)

तत्राद्यान्ताङ्कयोस्त्यागे किरणानां समा भवेत् ।

सङ्ख्या; सैवाथ पद्यानां खखाष्टैक-समन्विता ॥ (पथ्यावक्त्रम्)

उक्तं नात्र मया किञ्चिदुक्तं तन्महात्मभिः ।

अतो निरीक्षितव्योऽयं पद्यानामावलिर्बुधैः ॥ (पथ्यावक्त्रम्)

स्फीतं कल्पलतामिवातिविततां नानारसैराचितां

सर्वार्थोपचितां प्रसङ्गरचितां सद्भिः सदा सेविताम् ।

प्राप्तां भूषणतां सतां गुणवतां कान्तां सुवृत्तां सदा

कण्ठे तां कुरुतां दिवाकरकृतां प्राचीनपद्यावलीम् ॥

भारद्वाजकुले श्रुतिस्मृतिपटुः श्रीसूर्यभक्तस्तथा

रामाराधनतत्परोऽपि च महादेवोऽभवत्तार्किकः ।

तत्पुत्रेण दिवाकरेण चतुरा पाणिग्रहाकर्षिता

पद्याली कलिता करोति वलिता शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् ॥

इति श्रीभारद्वाज-बालकृष्णभट्टात्मज-

महादेवसूनु-दिवाकरकृता पद्यावली

शान्तरसं प्राप्ता विजयते ॥

The scribe adds after this:

4. The date of compilation of the work, Sam. 1741 (1685 A.D.)

5. This with the following verse gives the number of sections (called *kirāṇas*) in the work and the total number of verses. ख-ख-हस्ति-वह्नि (3800) without the first and the last digits (तत्राद्यान्ताङ्कयोः त्यागे) gives the number of sections as 80. The same number, 80, added to ख-खा-ष्टै-क (1800) gives the total number of verses in the work as 1880. Actually, however, the total number of verses in the Mss. comes to about 2030, or there are about 150 additional verses.

f. 157b:

रामवारिधिहयैकयुते⁶ सद्वत्सरे च सितफाल्गुने शुभे ।

मासि पुस्तकमिदं शुभमेतत् स्वाक्षरेण लिखितं मयोद्धतम् ॥

⁷श्रीसूर्यार्पणमस्तु । श्रीरामः शरणं परम् । श्रीसूर्यगणेशमहालक्ष्मी-
शिवविष्णुभ्यो नमः ।

बालकेभ्यो न दातव्यं दुष्टेभ्योऽपि कदाचन ।

जलाद्रक्ष्यं विशेषेण पथ्यावक्त्रं हि पुस्तकम् ॥

श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ।

रामः ।

The work is essentially a compilation, an anthology of poetic selections sorted and arranged by subjects. Each division of the work is called a *kiraṇa* and is prefixed with a benedictory verse, presumably the compiler's own. A staunch devotee of Sūrya, Divākara names the sections as *kiraṇas*. The work consists of 80 *kiraṇas* analysed as follows:

No.	Ff. of the	Name of the Kirāṇa.	Verses as numbered in the Ms.	Total No. of verses.
		Kirāṇa.		
1b		Introduction मङ्गल	1-2	(2)
2a	1	पद्योपक्रमकिरणः	1-13	13
2a	2	आशीःकिरणः	14-84(+1)	71 (+1)
7b	3	सुभाषितप्रशंसाकिरणः	85-89	5
8a	4	काव्यप्रशंसा- ,,	90-96	7
8b	5	कविप्रशंसा- ,,	{ 97-100 1-2	6
9a	6	कुक्कविनिन्दा- ,,	3-7	5
9a	7	पण्डितप्रशंसा-	8-15	8
9b	8	विद्याप्रशंसा- ,,	16-22	7
10a	9	महज्जति- ,,	23-32	10
11a	10	महत्प्रशंसा- ,,	33-38	6

6. The year of transcription is Sam. 1743 (1687 A.D.), i.e., two years after the compilation of the work.

7. For the portion following, the second manuscript, No. 1770, has :

श्रीसीतारामचन्द्राभ्यां नमः । इत्युभते नमः ।

	No. Ff. of the Kirāṇa.	Name of the Kirāṇa.	Verses as numbered in the Ms.	Total No. of verses.
11a	11	धीरप्रशंसाकिरणः	39-43	5
11b	12	रामस्तुति- „	44-63	20
13a	13	महत्प्रार्थना „	64-95	32
15b	14	विशिष्टशिष्टाचार-„	{ 96-100 1-6	11
16b	15	सज्जनप्रशंसा- „	7-14	8
17a	16	मनस्विप्रशंसा- „	15-17	3
17b	17	मानप्रशंसा- „	18-22	5
18a	18	परोपकारप्रशंसा „	23-30	8
18b	19	गुरुप्रशंसा- „	31-35	5
18b	20	सत्यप्रशंसा- „	36-41	6
19a	21	असत्यनिन्दा- „	42-44	3
19b	22	विवेकप्रशंसा- „	45-50	6
19b	23	उदारप्रशंसा- „	51-59	9
20a	24	तेजस्विप्रशंसा- „	60-64	5
20b	25	गुणप्रशंसा- „	65-77	13
21a	26	सन्तोषप्रशंसा- „	78-83	6
21b	27	सुसङ्गप्रशंसा- „	84-91	8
22a	28	धनप्रशंसा- „	92-97	6
22b	29	सुवर्णमुक्ताविवाद-„	{ 98-100 1-10	13
24a	30	दुर्जननिन्दा- „,8	11-29	19
26a	31	मूर्खनिन्दा- „	30-36	7
26b	32	कृपणनिन्दा- „	37-47	11
27a	33	याचकनिन्दा- „	48-52	5
27a	34	दरिद्रनिन्दा- „	53-65	13
28b	35	वृष्णानिन्दा- „	66-72	7
29a	36	लोभनिन्दा- „	73-76	4
29b	37	उद्यमप्रशंसा- „	77-83	7
30a	38	दैवाख्यान- „	84-99	16
31a	39	धर्मप्रशंसा- „	{ 100 1-5	6

No.	Ff. of the Kiraṇa.	Name of the Kiraṇa.	Verses as numbered in the Ms.	Total No. of verses.
31b	40	देवताध्यानकिरणः	6-13	8
32b	41	नामस्मरणप्रशंसा-,,	14-21	8
33a	42	कलियुगवर्णन-,,	22-27	6
33b	43	अङ्गीकृतनिर्वाह-,,	28-33	6
34a	44	परिचयदोष-,,	34-38	5
34b	45	पुराकृतकर्म-,,	39-42	4
35a	46	भवितव्य-,,	43-46	4
35b	47	प्रीतिप्ररोहवर्णन-,,	47-55	9
36a	48	भग्नप्रेमवर्णन-,,	56-59	4
36b	49	बुद्धिप्रशंसा-,,	60-66	7
37a	50	जाति-,,	67-100	34
39a	51	प्रकीर्णकाख्यान-,,	1-111	111
46b	52	गङ्गायमुनयोर्वर्णन-,,	112-120	9
47a	53	नलचरित्रवर्णन-,,	{ 121-145 46-100 1-100 1-100 1-37	317
64a	54	रामचरित-,,	{ 1-100 1-72	172
75a	55	अन्योक्ति-,,	{ 1-100 1-62	162
88a	56	उक्तिप्रत्युक्ति-,,	1-17	17
89a	57	प्राकृतपद्य-,,	1-4	4
89b	58	चित्रकाव्य-,,	1-12	12
91a	59	अन्तरालापदि-,,	1-11	11
91b	60	समस्या-,,	1-12	12
92a	61	राजवर्णन-,,	1-52	52
96b	62	नीति-,,	1-31	31
97b	63	नीतिकथानक-,,	{ 1-100 1-22	122

No.	Ff. of the Kirāṇa.	Name of the Kirāṇa.	Verses as numbered in the Ms.	Total No. of verses.
115b	64	प्रशस्तिकिरणः	{ (4) 1-2 (5) 1-4 1-11	(4) 2 (5) 4 11
119b	65	दण्डक- ⁹	1-5	5
120a	66	प्रेमवर्णन-	1-4	4
120b	67	शृङ्गार-	{ 1-100 1-100 1-100 1-19	319
145b	68	हास्य-	1-4	4
146a	69	करुण-	1-19	19
147b	70	रौद्र-	1-4	4
148a	71	वीर-	1-3	3
148b	72	भयानक-	1-3	3
148b	73	बीभत्सक-	1-3	3
149a	74	अद्भुत-	1-3	3
149a	75	शान्त-	1-17	17
150b	76	भक्ति-	1-27	27
153a	77	वैराग्य-	1-32	32
155b	78	काशीवर्णन-	1-3	3
156a	79	ग्रन्थशंसा-	1-9	9
156b	80	ग्रन्थोपसंहार-	1-15	15

Total No. of verses: 2019 + (12) = 2031

It may be seen that the field covered by these eighty *kiraṇas* is fairly large and comprehensive. The common subjects treated in anthologies like कविप्रशंसा, विद्याप्रशंसा, अन्योक्तयः etc., and other allied topics have been dealt with in detail.

9. The 3rd *daṇḍaka* details the genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha, the maternal grandfather of Divākara. The 4th refers to Jeswant Singh, a contemporary Rajput chieftain of Bundelkhand in Marwar.

The nine rasas are dealt with in separate *kirāṇas* (Nos. 67-75), the *Śṛṅgāra*, (No. 67) in great detail, in 319 verses. There is also a भक्तिकिरण (No. 76) stating in general the Bhakti doctrine and the views of the various schools, the Śaivas, Abhedavādins, Mīmāṃsakas, Śābdikas and Tārkikas. There is a *kirāṇa* on Banaras (No. 78), the city of Divākara's residence, as also one on the Ganges and the Jumna (No. 52).

The special feature of some of the *kirāṇas* is their incorporation in them of some of the more popular works in Sanskrit literature in an abridged form, using the original verses themselves. The *Suvarṇamuktāvivādakirāṇa* (No. 29) is an epitome of Maheśapaṇḍita's (c. 1500-1550) *Svarṇamuktāvivāda*, a work in conversational style on the dispute of Gold and Pearl for superiority.¹⁰ The *Nalacaritravarṇanakirāṇa* (No. 53) is a running summary of *Naiṣadhiyacarita* of Śrīharṣa taking all the verses from the original itself. The next section, *Rāmacaritakirāṇa*¹¹ (No. 54) is another of a similar nature. The *Nītikathānaka-kirāṇa* (No. 63) is again a summary of the *Hitopadeśa* without the intervening episodes.

A special feature of this anthology is that it gives at the end of each verse its metre. For, as the compiler himself observes at the beginning of the work:

f. 2a.

ननु प्रस्तावेऽस्मिन्नसवति हि (?) वृत्तं किमिति ये
 वितर्कं विद्वांसो मनसि तु करिष्यन्ति कतिचिद् ।
 समाधानं तेषां सदसि पठितं तद्विरहितं
 सदर्थं यत्काव्यं तदपि खलु दोषाय भवति ॥
 इति हेतोस्तज्ज्ञानार्थं प्रतिपद्यं तदुच्यते सम्यक् ।
 इदमाकलयति यो रसिकच्छन्दसि स तु तुलाधरो भवति ॥

10. Vide Mss. of the work, I.O. 4202, Wai 73; Ed. in the *Laghukāvyāni* (pp. 171ff.) forming part of the Bombay Magazine "Kāvyetiḥāsa-saṅgraha", Vol. X. I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan for drawing my attention to this fact.

11. The original of this summary could not be identified. It is, however, different from the *Rāmacaritas* of Sandhyākaranandin and Abhinanda.

The author then proceeds to define and distinguish between वृत्त and जाति, enumerates the 26 *chandas* and illustrates each with a *vṛtta* coming under it and an example eulogising his favourite deity, the Sun. For the many other *vṛttas* coming under the various *chandas* the reader is referred to the author's *Vṛttaratnākarādarśa*; Cf. (f. 4b)

इत्येकाक्षरपादमारभ्य षड्विंशत्यक्षरपादं यावद् एकैको भेदः प्रकाशितः ।
भेदानामानन्त्यात् । तेषां भेदज्ञानोपायस्तु वृत्तरत्नाकरादर्शे स्पष्टं मया
अभ्यधायि ।

In the body of the anthology itself, whenever an unusual metre occurs, the definition of the same is also given. Again, elucidation of apparent non-adherence of a verse to the definition of its *vṛtta* is often made. To cite an instance:
f. 27b:

दारिद्र्याद्घ्नियमेति ह्रीपरिगतः प्रभ्रश्यते तेजसा
निस्तेजाः परिभूयते परिभवान्निर्वेदमापद्यते ।
निर्विण्णः शुचमेति शोकपिहितो बुद्ध्या परित्यज्यते
निर्बुद्धिः क्षयमेत्यहो निधनता सर्वापदामास्पदम् ।
(शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्)

न च पूर्वोक्तशार्दूलविक्रीडितलक्षणे 'मध्यगुर्जग' इति नियमाद्,
अत्र तदभावाद्, इदं शार्दूलविक्रीडितं नेति वाच्यम् । यद्याप संयुक्तपरत्वाद्
दारिद्र्याद्घ्नियमेतीति 'इ'कारस्य लघोर्गुरुत्वमवगतम्, तथापि प्रह्लादिशब्दे परे
लघोर्गुरुत्वं कचिन्नास्तीति वा भूषणादिग्रन्थे उक्तत्वात् ।

Divākara does not indicate at the end of each verse its source, as is generally the case in anthologies. He acknowledges his indebtedness to his sources in a general manner in the beginning of the work as also at the close. His own verses, he indicates by such expressions as दिवाकरस्य (ff. 4b, 116), मामकः श्लोकः (90b), मदीयः (116a) and ममैव (128b). It is very likely, however, that there are more verses of Divākara than those specifically indicated as above, and especially such are the benedictory verses heading each *kirāṇa*.

Divākara often refers to or cites authorities in quoting definitions, justifying usages, or referring the readers to

further literature on the subject. Such authorities referred to by name are:

अनर्घराघवम् f. 1b; also under मुरारिः ।

एकाक्षरकोशः f. 15b.

काव्यप्रकाशः of Mammaṭa f. 120b, 130b.

केदारभट्टः f. 2b; also under वृत्तरत्नाकरः ।

भूषणम् 27b.

मल्लिकानाथः 88b.

माण्डव्यः¹² 119b.

मुरारिः 8a.

विदग्धमुखमण्डनम् 25b.

वृत्तरत्नाकरः of Kedarabhaṭṭa 5a, 7a.

वृत्तरत्नाकरादर्शः a commentary on the above by Divākara himself 3a, 4b, 120a.

शार्ङ्गधरपद्धतिः 1b.

It may be of interest to note that there is a reference to Jeswant Singh, a contemporary Rajput chief of Bundelkhand in Marwar, who was deputed by Aurangazib to Peshwar in 1672 to quell troubles that broke out in the frontier. Jewant Singh is eulogised in an illustration of a variety of दण्डक called अर्णव ।

ff. 119b-20a:

नरवर—जसवन्तसिंहस्य बुन्देलचूडामणेः शौर्यनीरार्णवं बाहुमासाद्य
चञ्चुतिर्गनगकरवालकालस्वरूपाभुदः पूरिता(रा)तिसामन्तसीमन्तिनीनेत्र-
नीरापगः रिपुशशधरकीर्तिपूर्तिस्त्यक्तौमुदी (?) संवृणोति स्वयं स्वर्णसम्मुष्टि-
सौदामिनीमण्डनः कलयति च सपत्नभूपप्रतापालिदावानलज्वाल्या दह्यमानं
जगच्छीतलं धारया ॥

The completion of a *samasyā* connecting the names of Hanūmat, Bhāravi and Kālidāsa occurs in the पुराकृतकर्मकिरण ।

f. 35a:

इह खलु विषमः पुराकृतानां
भवति हि जन्तुषु कर्मणां विपाकाः ।

12. An early writer on metrics mentioned also by Piṅgala,

क्व च जनकजनाधिराजपुत्री

क्व च दशकन्धरमन्दिरे निवासः ॥

(अर्धसमं वृत्तम्)

अत्र पूर्वार्धं हनूमतः, उत्तरार्धं भारवेः । कालिदासस्तु उत्तरार्धमन्यथा
चकार ।

हरशिरसि शिरांसि यानि रेजुः

शिव शिव तानि लुठन्ति गृध्रपादौ ॥

युक्तं चैतत् ।

Divākara belonged to a family of reputed scholars both in the paternal and maternal lines. His father Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa was a great Naiyāyika—तर्कादिशास्त्रज्ञ as Divākara refers to him in the introduction to the present work—and in collaboration with his son Dinakara (Divākara) Bhaṭṭa, was the author of the commentary Dinakarī on the Siddhāntamuktāvali of Viśvanātha. Nīlakaṇṭha, the renowned Nibandhakāra and the author of the twelve Mayūkhas was his maternal grandfather. Divākara himself is more renowned as a writer on Dharmaśāstra than in other branches of Sanskrit literature.¹³ He flourished at Banaras during the latter half of the 17th century and it is towards the close of the century that he wrote his works, in some of which the dates of composition are also mentioned: his Śrāddhacandrikā about 1680, his Tithyarka about 1683,¹⁴ his commentary on Vṛttaratnākara in 1684,¹⁵ the present work in 1685 and the Ācārārka portion of his Dharmaśāstrasudhānidhi in 1686.¹⁶

13. For a list of Divākara's works, see: C.C. I. 253b-54a; P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I. 702.

14. History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I. 702.

15. C.C. I. 597-a.

16. History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I. 702.

ŚRĪPARŪKĀ

By

B. CH. CHHABRA, *Ootacamund*

Śrīparūkā was a village. It was evidently so called because it abounded in trees of the *śrīparū* or *śrīparū* species.¹ This interpretation of the name, which, I believe, is the correct one, suddenly dawned upon me not long ago when I was preparing an article on the subject of Village-Names After Trees² and was, in my obsession, seeing some arboreal species or other behind every other village-name in India.

The village of Śrīparūkā existed possibly in the neighbourhood of Ramtek, the modern representative of the Rāmāgiri of the *Mēghadūta* fame in the Nagpur District of the Madhya Pradesh. It is mentioned in the Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja, assignable to the 6th century A.C., published in a recent issue of the *Epigraphia Indica*.³ This record has been edited by Śrī V. V. Mirashi, the Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit and Principal of the Morris College, Nagpur. According to him, the name of the village is Parūkā with Śrī prefixed to it as a mere honorific.⁴ This is obviously an error and, as Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, I would have nipped it in the bud, had the true etymology of the name occurred to me earlier than it did. Now, were it only for that, I would not have thought of writing this note. There is something more to be said in the wake.

My hunt for the village-names after trees brought me face to face with two more villages whose names are likewise

1. They include silk-cotton trees and are better known to the botanist under their Latin appellations *Salmaia Malabarica*, *Premna Spinosa* or *Longifolia*, *Myristica Malabarica*, *Marica Sapida*, etc. Compare Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṅgraha*, III, 241: *śrīparū* = *tv* = *agnimanthē* = 'bjē *śrīparū* śālmalaḥ haṭhē.

2. This is under publication in the *Robinson Memorial Volumes* to be issued by the University of Mississippi, U. S. A.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-11 and plate. The village-name *Śrīparūkā* occurs on p. 9, text line 16.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 8, 11.

derived from *śrīparṇa* or *śrīparṇī*. One of them was in Berar and the other in Baroda. The former is found as *Śrīpārṇī-khēṭa* and *Śrīparṇīkagrāma* in the Khāmkhēḍ plates of Pratāpa-śīla,⁵ dating from the 8th century A.C., while the latter occurs as *Śrīparṇakā* in the Sāṅkhēḍā plate of Sāntilla,⁶ referable to the 7th century A. C. As chance would have it, Professor Mirashi happens to be the editor of the Khāmkhēḍ plates as well, and he has treated the village-name *Śrīparṇī* in the same way as he has done *Śrīparṇīkā* of the Nagardhan plates, abridging it of its *Śrī*.⁷ And I, on my part, have again shared this error with him inasmuch as, in the Index to Vol. XXII of the *Epigraphia Indica*, I have faithfully entered the name of the village under *Parṇīkagrāma* and *Parṇīkhēṭa*. It may be pointed out that Professor Mirashi has proposed the identification of this village with Pāṅgārkhēḍ, while he has not been able to identify Parṇīkā (really Śrīparṇīkā) of the Nagardhan plates.

As for *Śrīparṇakā* of the Sāṅkhēḍā plate, it has met with no better fate, as the editor of this record likewise does not consider its *Śrī* as an integral part of the name.⁸ He has identified the village with Panīu. The compiler of the Index in this case has evidently not seen eye to eye with the editor of the record, for he has indexed the name under *Śrīparṇākā* (correctly *Śrīparṇakā*) only.

It may finally be observed that all the three villages discussed above occur only as boundary villages, and not as places of issue of the respective grants, in which case the prefixing of *Śrī* to the names may have some meaning. As it is, there is no justification in treating the names in question as preceded by that honorific. Besides, as shown in my article referred to in the beginning, the naming of villages after trees was a fashion in India in olden days. Instances of this practice can

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 95, text line 7, and p. 96, text line 21.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 24, text line 8. The exact reading of the name is *Śrīparṇnakā*, but Mr. H. H. Dhruva, the editor of the record, has wrongly read it as *Śrīparṇṇākā*. There is no length mark attached to the superscript *rēpha*, which, if there were one, should have been indicated after the fashion followed in *sarvūn* in line 5 of the same plate.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 94 and 96.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 22 and 23.

be quoted by hundreds. Take, for example, Nirguṇḍipadraka, the place of issue of the very Sāṅkhēḍā plate, where the royal camp was pitched at the time of the grant. In spite of its obvious importance, by the way, no *śrī* is prefixed to its name. This name is again of arboreal origin, being after *nirguṇḍī*,⁹ 'Vitex Negundo', as Baroda, ancient Vaṭapadraka,¹⁰ is after *vata*, 'Ficus Indica'. Those who have seen the Indirā Avenue in the city of Baroda, flanked by giant banyan trees, will bear this out. There is thus no doubt that the village-names like Śrīparūkā are associated each with the species of plant life they allude to, directly or indirectly.

9. According to Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṅgraha*, III, 186, *nirguṇḍī* means *nila-śēphālī*, *sinduvāra* and *abja-kandaka*. In the name *Nirguṇḍipadraka*, either of the first two may be meant.

10. It is interesting to note that the present flourishing city of Baroda, the capital of the Baroda State, was, in the 9th century A.C., a small village, called *Vaṭapadraka* or *Vaṭapura*. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80.

SĀLIVĀHANA AND THE ŚAKA ERA

BY

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund*

Recently there has been a controversy on the earliest instance in which the name of King Śālivāhana has been mentioned in connection with the years of the Śaka era. In the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, p. 201, Prof. V. V. Mirashi says that the earliest inscriptions mentioning Śālivāhana's name in connection with the dates of the Śaka era are those of king Bukkarāya I, such as the Harihar copper-plate inscription of Śaka 1276 (1354 A.C.). Dr. G. S. Gai has shown in his two notes published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XVII, pp. 92-93 and Vol. XVIII, p. 190, that Prof. Mirashi is wrong, as Śālivāhana's connection with the Śaka era can be easily pushed more than a century back. In his first note, Dr. Gai draws our attention to the Tasgaon plates (*Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 9, 65) of the Yādava King Kṛishṇa of Devagiri, in which the Śaka date 1172 (1251 A. C.) is mentioned as *Śālavāhana-Śaka*. Dr. Gai then proposed to "accept 1251 A. C. as the earliest instance of the use of this name (*i.e.*, of Śālivāhana) in a date known so far". In his second note, Dr. Gai refers to the Kannaḍa work *Udbhaṭakāvyaṃ* by Somarāja. This work was composed "when 1144 years of the era known as *Śālivāhana-Śaka* had elapsed". Thus King Śālivāhana's association with the Śaka era has not yet been traced beyond Śaka 1144 (1222 A.C.), *i.e.* the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

Indian epigraphic and literary records so far discovered are already numerous and new discoveries are increasing their number gradually year after year. It is therefore difficult to say the last word on a topic of this kind. But I know of an inscription of 1059 A.C. associating Śālivāhana with the Śaka era, which has unfortunately escaped the notice even of Dr. Gai. This record would carry back Śālivāhana's association with the Śaka era 163 years before the 'earliest' date (1222 A.C.) proposed by him. The inscription was noticed more than a century ago in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IX, p. 549, and also in the *Journal of the*

American Oriental Society, Vol. VII, p. 35. The late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar referred to the inscription in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1907-08. p. 37, and later included it in his *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India* (appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XIX-XXIII) as No. 134. The same epigraph is recognised as No. 68 of Kielhorn's *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, appended to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V. The inscription which comes from Udaypur in the old Gwalior State of the modern state of Madhya Bharat is in vernacular and speaks of the Paramāra king Udayāditya as having built a temple of Śiva. Bhandarkar transcribed the inscription "from the original record" and quotes the date portion in line 6 as follows: *ekādaśa-śata-varsh-āṁga tad-adhikaṁ shoḍaśam cha Vīramcresanī*|| (Samvat 1116) *nava-sata-ekasīti Śaka gata Śāl.vahina cha nripadhisa (Śāke 981)*.

The date of the above inscription is given as the year 1116 of the Vikrama Samvat and as the year 981 of the Saka or Śālivāhana era. The record does not use the compound *Śālivāhana-Śaka* as the name of the era which is, however, called both *Śaka* and *Śālivāhana*. The year corresponds to 1059 A.C. The Śālivāhana saga thus seems to have begun to develop at least as early as the middle of the eleventh century A.C.

THE LAKṢAṆAMĀLĀ OF SIVĀDITYA

The Lakṣaṇamālā or Wreath of Definitions is a short work on Nyāya. The sixteen categories enumerated in the Nyāya-śāstra of Gautama are herein defined and explained. The author opens the work by defining Pramā or valid cognition.

Śaṅkaramiśra, commenting upon Śrīharṣa's refutation of the first Pramālakṣaṇa¹ says that since the establishment of all categories depends upon the determination of 'Pramā' the author of Lakṣaṇamālā takes up Pramā first for definition. It is quite reasonable that since Pramā has to be understood for a clear understanding of Pramāṇa, the author preferred to define Pramā first and Pramāṇa afterwards. After expounding the definitions of Perception, Inference, Comparison, and Verbal Testimony, the four Pramāṇas accepted by Gautama, the author proceeds to define the twelve Prameyas enumerated by Gautama. He explains only the first six and leaves out the rest as easily intelligible in the Śāstra itself.

In reply to a question often directed against the Naiyāyika as to why Gautama did not mention the other Prameyas like Dravya, Guṇa, Karma, Sāmānya, Viśeṣa and Samavāya, our author says that in the opinion of the sage these categories do not conduce to the attainment of Final Release as the others do. The author then gives the definitions of Kaṇāda's six principal categories and their sub-varieties. The explanation of the Vaiśeṣika categories in the present work is only incidental, for there is as yet no conscious attempt to syncretise the two schools of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika as in later works. The author then proceeds with the definitions of the remaining Nyāya categories.

The original contribution of the author consists in supplying definitions for those categories which are left undefined in the Śāstra and in giving easier definitions for those explained in it. He has taken special care to explain the purpose of each word in the definitions.

1. See Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhāḍya with Śaṅkaramiśra's Commentary, page 146.

The Author

The name of the author of Lakṣaṇamālā is not given in the colophon but it can be gathered from other works that this work is by Nyāyācārya Śivāditya. Śaṅkaramiśra says in his *ṭikā* on Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā (p. 146)—

न्यायाचार्यकृतलक्षणमालाग्रन्थे प्राथमिकं प्रमालक्षणं खण्डयितु-
मुपक्रमते—तत्त्वानुभूतिरिति ।

This definition of *Pramā* forms the opening definition in the present work. As pointed out by Prof. Ghate in his introduction to *Saptapadārthī*, Varadarāja has said in his *Tārkikaraksā*—

निरुपाधिकमाध्यसम्बन्धशालि लिङ्गमिति लक्षणमालायाम् etc.

This definition is seen here on page 1. There are several quotations in the *Tattvapradīpikā* of Citsukha considered to be from Śivāditya's *Lakṣaṇamālā* by Pratyakṣvarūpa, the commentator on the *Tattvapradīpikā*; e.g.,

यानि शिवादित्यमिश्रेण लक्षणानि लक्षणमालायामुक्तानि तान्यपि
निरस्तानीत्याह—तदेवमिति । तानि च आकाशवृत्तिसत्ताव्याप्यजातियोगि, क्रिया-
समानाधिकरणसत्ताव्याप्यजातियोगि इत्यादीनि । (Bom. edn. p. 182)

वृत्तिसंयोगासमानाधिकरणसत्तासाक्षाद्व्याप्यजातिमदिति वा शिवादित्य-
मिश्रोक्तानि लक्षणानि भविष्यन्ति । (p. 192)

These quotations cannot be traced in the present work as we have it. I therefore think that the work must be more extensive than what is found in the manuscript.

The date of Śivāditya is, according to Prof. Ghate, between 975 and 1025 A.D.

The present edition of the work is based on manuscript No. 612 B deposited in the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, for a transcript of which I am thankful to the authorities of that Library.

The manuscript is fair and free from errors.

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ लक्षणमाला ॥

॥ श्रीशिवादित्यमिश्रविरचिता ॥

तुष्टेर्मोचयतो बन्धादतुष्टेर्वध्नतः पुनः ।

कारागारमिदं विश्वं यस्य नौमि तर्माश्वरम् ॥

तत्त्वानुभूतिः प्रमा । तत्त्वेत्यतस्त्वधियां तर्कसंशयविपर्ययानान्निरासः । अनुभूतिरिति स्मृतेः । सा नित्याऽनित्या च, आश्रयभेदात् । तत्र नित्याया आश्रयः प्रमाणम् । असूत्रयच्च आसप्रामाण्यात् (न्या. सू. २-१-६८) इति । अभाष्ययच्च आप्तानां प्रमाणता साक्षात्कृतधर्मता (वा. भा. २-१-६८) इति । अनित्यायाः पुनः प्रमायाः साधकतमं प्रमाणम् । अनित्याया इति विषयक्रियासूचनम् । प्रमाया इति च्छिदादीनां व्युदासः । साधकेत्यसाधकानामाकाशादीनां व्युदासः । तममिति प्रमातृप्रमेययोः । तच्चतुर्विधं परिसंख्यानत् । तत्र इन्द्रियजप्रमासाधकतमं प्रत्यक्षम् । इन्द्रियजेति लिङ्गादीनां निरासः । प्रमेति सुखादिसाधनानामाभासानां च । साधकेत्यबुद्धिरूपकरणलाभाय । तममित्यकरणस्य निरासः । तदेतद् योग्ययोगिसाधारणम् ; लौकिकमात्रस्य तु शब्देऽधिकारादिति साक्षात्कारिणी प्रमा प्रत्यक्षफलमिति ॥

लिङ्गपरामर्शोऽनुमानमिति^१ । लिङ्गेति सादृश्यपरामर्शस्य प्रत्यभिज्ञानस्य लिङ्गाभासपरामर्शस्य च निरासः । परामर्श इति द्वितीयलिङ्गदर्शनस्य ततः स्मृतेश्च निरासः । लिङ्गं तु निरुपाधिसाध्यसम्बन्धशाली । निरुपाधीति मैत्रतनयत्वादीनां निरासः । साध्यसम्बन्धशालीति साध्यरहितानां धर्माणां निरुपाधीनां निरासः । अनुमितिरस्य फलमिति ॥

अकृतसमयसंज्ञास्मरणसहायं तत्समभिव्याहृतवाक्यार्थप्रत्यभिज्ञाप्रत्यक्षमुपमानम्^२ । अकृतसमयेति कृतसमयानां तथाविधप्रत्यक्षनिरासः । संज्ञास्मरणेति विस्मृतोपलब्धसंज्ञानां तथाविधप्रत्यक्षनिरासः । तत्समभि-

१. खण्डितमिदं खण्डने (P. 347 शाङ्करी) तत्त्वप्रदीपिकायाञ्च (P. 235)

२. किञ्चिद्विकृत्य लक्षणमिदं दूषितं खण्डने ।

व्याहृतवाक्यार्थेति केवलसंज्ञास्मृतिमतां व्युदासः । प्रत्यभिज्ञेति तथाविधस्मरण-
मात्रव्युदासः । प्रत्यक्षमिति पुनर्वाक्यादेव प्रत्यभिज्ञानस्य निरासः । उभाभ्या-
मनुसन्धानव्युदासः । वाक्यार्थस्तु क्वचित् साधर्म्यं क्वचिद्वैधर्म्यमिति
नाव्याप्तिः । अस्य फलं समयपरिच्छिन्तिः ॥

वाक्यजप्रमासाधकतमः शब्दः । वाक्येति आकाङ्क्षाविरहिणां
पदानां व्युदासः । जेति वाक्यविषयश्रौत्रप्रत्यक्षनिरासः । प्रमेति पदार्थस्मरणस्य
अनाप्तवचसश्च निरासः । साधकेति फलनिरासः । तम इत्ययमसावश्च इति
प्रत्यक्षनिरासः । अर्थप्रमितिरस्य फलम् ॥

प्रमाणविषयः प्रमेयम् । मुमुक्षून् प्रति यन्मिथ्या ज्ञायमानं साक्षादनु-
कूलप्रतिकूलयो रागद्वेषहेतुः तत् प्रमेयामत्येकम्, सम्यग् ज्ञायमानं यत् साक्षात्सं-
सारबीजं निवृत्तति तद् द्वितीयम् । तच्च द्वादशविधम्, परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र
ज्ञानाद्यधिकरणमात्मा । ज्ञानेति गुणान्तराधिकरणानां पृथिव्यादीनां निरासः ।
आदीनां लक्षणान्तरसूचनम् । अधिकरणमिति ज्ञानस्य व्युदासः । ज्ञानसम-
वायिकरणमिति न कर्तव्यम्, ईश्वराव्यापकत्वात् । प्रयत्नवदात्मसंयोगासम-
वायिकारणक्रियाश्रयः शरीरनिरपेक्षोऽन्यावयवि शरीरम् । प्रयत्नवदात्मैत्यदृष्ट-
वदात्मसंयोगासमवायिकारणक्रियासाधारण्याद् दहनपवनादीनां निरासः ।
क्रियाश्रय इति प्रयत्नवदात्मेश्वरपरमाण्वादिसंयोगासमवायिकारणक्रियासंयोगा-
धाराणां व्युत्पादादीनां निरासः । शरीरनिरपेक्ष इति प्राणाख्यवायोर्निरासः ।
अन्यावयवीति करचरणादीनाम् । सोऽयं चेष्टाश्रय इत्यस्यार्थः¹ ।
सर्वेन्द्रियाधिष्ठानं शरीरमिति द्वितीयम् । सर्वेन्द्रियेत्येकैकाधिष्ठानगोलकादि-
निरासः । अधिष्ठानमिति सर्वेन्द्रियनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । सोऽयमिन्द्रियाश्रय
इत्यस्यार्थः । यमन्यावयविनमाश्रितोऽर्थान् मुञ्क्ते तच्च शरीरमिति तृतीयम् ।
अन्येति करचरणादीनां व्युदासः । अवयविनमिति मतिनिरासः । अर्थान्
मुञ्क्ते इति घटादीनां परमाण्वन्तानां निरासः । सोऽयमर्थश्रय इत्यस्यार्थः ॥

शरीरसंयुक्तं साक्षात्कारप्रमासाधनमतीन्द्रियमिन्द्रियम् । शरीर-
संयुक्तमिति इन्द्रियसंयोगादीनामतीन्द्रियाणां प्रमासाधनानां निरासः ।
प्रमासाधनमिति शरीरसंयोगादीनामतीन्द्रियाणां च परमाण्वादीनां विषयाश्रयाणां
निरासः ॥

1. चेष्टेन्द्रियार्थाश्रयः शरीरम् इति न्यायसूत्रे (1. 1. 11.) इत्यादिः ।
एवमग्रेऽपि ।

प्रतीतिविषयतया भोगसाधनमर्थः । प्रतीतिविषयतयेति शरीरेन्द्रियादीनां निरासः । भोगसाधनमित्यात्मनः । अर्थप्रकाशो बुद्धिः । अर्थेति निर्विषयबुद्धित्वादिमतनिरासः । प्रकाश इत्यप्रतीतिरूपनिराकरणम् । सर्वात्मविशेषगुणसाधनं मनः । प्रवृत्तिदोषप्रेत्यभावफलदुःखापवर्गणां तु सुगमानि शास्त्रे लक्षणानि । यद्यपि प्रमेयान्तरमस्ति तथाप्येतावदेवोक्तं, अपवर्गोपयोगात् । तथा हि—विधायकप्रमाणगोचरः पदार्थ इति पदार्थसामान्यलक्षणम् । स च षोढा, समानतन्त्रपरिसंख्यानात् । तत्र गुणवद् द्रव्यम् । गुणवदित्यनेनैव सकलसजातीयविजातीयनिरासः । क्रियावदिति प्रादेशिकम् । समवायिकारणमित्यपि लक्षणम् । सामान्यत्रानुगुणोऽकर्मरूपो गुणः । सामान्यवानिति सामान्यविशेषसमवायाभावनिरासः । अगुण इति च द्रव्याणाम् । अकर्मरूप इति कर्मणः । आद्यविभागासमवायिकारणं कर्म । आद्यविभागेति द्वितीयविभागासमवायिकारणस्य प्रथमविभागस्य निरासः । असमवायिकारणमिति द्रव्यादीनाम् । नित्यमेकमनेकसमवायि सामान्यम् । नित्यमिति संयोगादिनिरासः । एकमिति सल्लिख्यनेकपरमाणुसमवेतानेकसितरूपादीनां निरासः । अनेकसमवायीति प्रत्येकं नित्यानां द्रव्याणाम् । एकद्रव्याः स्वरूपसन्तो विशेषाः । एकद्रव्या इति सामान्यसमवाययोर्निरासः । स्वरूपसन्त इति गुणकर्मणां द्रव्यस्य च अप्रसङ्ग एव । नित्यप्राप्तिः समवायः । निर्येति संयोगनिवृत्तिः । प्राप्तिरिति तदतिरिक्तस्येति । अत्र च अन्तर्गणिको भेदः ॥

तत्र च द्रव्यं पृथिव्यादि नवधा समानतन्त्रपरिसंख्यानात् । तत्त गन्धवती पृथिवी । स्वभावतो द्रवा आपः । औष्ण्यवत् तेजः । अरूतस्पर्शवान् वायुः । शब्दगुण आकाशः । परापरव्यतिकरानुमेयः कालः । पूर्वापरादिव्यवहारासाधारणकारणका दिक् । आत्ममनसोस्तु लक्षणमुक्तमत्र । एवं नव द्रव्याणि ॥

चतुर्विंशतिर्गुणाः, तत्रैव परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र चक्षुर्ग्राह्य एवार्थो रूपम् । रसनग्राह्य एवार्थो रसः । घ्राणग्राह्य एवार्थो गन्धः । स्पर्शनग्राह्योऽर्थः स्पर्शः । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये एकमित्यादिव्यवहारः सा सङ्ख्या । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये दीर्घमित्यादिव्यवहारः तत् परिमाणम् । याद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये पृथगित्यादिव्यवहारः तत् पृथक्त्वम् । कर्मविरोधी गुणः संयोगः । संयोगविरोधी गुणो विभागः । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये परमपरमिति व्यवहारः ते परत्वापरत्वे । आह्लादः सुखम् । पीडा दुःखम् । अनुराग इच्छा । असहिष्णुता द्वेषः ।

उत्साहः प्रयत्नः । पतनासमवायिकारणं गुरुत्वम् । स्पन्दनासमवायिकारणं द्रवत्वम् । यद्विशिष्टे द्रव्ये स्निग्धमिति व्यवहारः स स्नेहः । यद् द्वितीयावस्था-
समवेत उत्पन्नः तस्य तादवस्थापादको गुणः संस्कारः । श्रुत्यादिविहितानुष्ठान-
साध्यः पुरुषगुणो धर्मः । श्रुत्यादिनिषिद्धानुष्ठानसाध्यः पुरुषगुणोऽधर्मः ।
श्रोत्रग्राह्योऽर्थः शब्दः ॥

सामान्यं सदादिप्रत्ययहेतुकं सत्तादिकम् । विशेषा व्यावृत्तिबुद्धिहेतवः ।
समवाय इहेति प्रत्ययहेतुः । एते षट् पदार्था ह्युक्ताः समासतः, अनन्तान्तर्गणि-
कभेदेन तु अनन्ताः तत्र युक्त्या प्रतिपत्तव्याः ॥

“अयं किम् एवम्, अन्यो वा” इति विमर्शः संशय इति स्वरूपतः ।
एकस्मिन् धर्मिणि परस्परविरुद्धधर्मद्वयगोचरं ज्ञानं संशय इति विषयतः । विषय-
ज्ञानात् परविरुद्धारोप्यस्मरणात् निर्णायकाभावादुत्पन्नं ज्ञानं संशय इति
कारणतः । सामान्यतोऽप्यज्ञातायां स्थूणायां पश्चादवस्थितार्थां संशयो न
भवतीति तद्व्युदासार्थं प्रथमं पदम् । उपलब्धेऽप्यनिर्णीते विमर्शविषये
परस्परविरुद्धार्थास्मृतेः नाबं (?) अधिगच्छतः संशयो न भवतीति तद्व्युदासार्थं
द्वितीयं पदम् । विषयोपलम्भे विरुद्धविशेषस्मरणेऽपि सति निर्णयोऽपि
तरुमुपलभ्य त्रिभ[दू]र्वर्तिनो भवति [न?] तत्संशय इति तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं तृतीयं पदम् ।
परस्परविरुद्धारोप्यस्मृतिस्तु क्वचित् समानधर्मदर्शनात् क्वचिदनेकधर्मदर्शनात्
क्वचिद्वादिविप्रतिपत्तेरिति । तदेतदाह कारणत्वेन सूत्रकारः ॥

यमर्थमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते तत्प्रयोजनमिति सुगमं सूत्रम् । व्याप्ति-
ग्रहणविषयो दृष्टान्तः । स द्विविधः साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्याम् । साधनधर्मप्रयुक्तसाध्य-
धर्मवान् धर्मी साधर्म्यदृष्टान्तः । साध्यधर्मनिवृत्तिप्रयुक्तसाधनधर्मनिवृत्तिमान्
वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्तः । एतेनैवादृष्टान्ताः तदाभासाश्च निराकृताः । प्रामाणिकोऽयमिति
कृत्वा अभ्युपगतोऽर्थः सिद्धान्तः । स चतुर्विधः परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र
वचनतो द्विविधः । सर्वतन्त्राभ्युपगतो वचनतः सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्त इत्येकः ।
नियततन्त्राभ्युपगतो वचनतः प्रतितन्त्रसिद्धान्त इति द्वितीयः । अर्थतोऽपि
द्वेधा । तन्त्रान्तरानुमेयानुषक्तसिद्धिरधिकरणसिद्धान्तः । परतन्त्रोक्तः स्वतन्त्रे
चानिषिद्धोऽभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तः ॥

नान्तरीयकप्रतिपादकवाक्यैकदेशा अवयवाः । ते पञ्च परिसंख्यानात् ।
तत्र साध्यनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञेति सुगमं सूत्रम् । साधनत्वाभिव्यञ्जकविभक्त्यन्तं

लिङ्गवचनं हेतुः । धूम इत्यादिरूपस्य निराकरणाय प्रथमं पदम् । व्याप्तिवचनस्य हेतुत्वनिराकरणाय द्वितीयं पदम् । स द्विविधः साधर्म्य-वैधर्म्याभ्याम् । विशिष्टमन्वयिलिङ्गवचनं साधर्म्यहेतुः । विशिष्टं केवलव्यतिरेकि-लिङ्गवचनं वैधर्म्यहेतुः । व्याप्तिप्रदर्शनपुरस्सरं सम्यग् दृष्टान्तवचनमुदाहरणम् । व्याप्तिप्रदर्शनेति अनुपदर्शितव्याप्तिकस्य घटवदिति दृष्टान्तमात्रस्य निरासः । तदपि द्विविधं दृष्टान्तभेदात् । स चोक्तः । धर्मिणि लिङ्गोपसंहार उपनयः । साध्योपसंहारो निगमनम् ॥

व्याप्याङ्गीकारेऽनिष्टव्यापकप्रसञ्जनं तर्कः । परीक्षासाध्यमर्थावधारणं निर्णयः । साध्यव्यवस्थिते[तथे] व्याहृतविषयनानावक्तृकवाक्यसंदग्धिः कथा । सा त्रिविधा । तत्र प्रामाणिकवचनमात्रवचनाभिप्रायपूर्विका कथा वादः । विजिगीषमाणयोरुभयोरपि साधनवती कथा जल्पः । सा प्रतिपक्षस्थापनहीना वितण्डेति सुगमं सूत्रम् ॥

अहेतवो हेतुवदाभासमाना हेत्वाभासा इति सुगमं भाष्यम् । ते पञ्च परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र अनैकान्तिकः सव्यभिचार इति सुगमं सूत्रम् । स च द्विविधः साधारणोऽसाधारणश्च । तत्र विपक्षवृत्तेः साधारणः । पक्षमात्रवृत्तिः विद्यमानसपक्षस्तु असाधारणः । साध्यत्रिपर्यव्याप्तौ विरुद्धः । सत्प्रतिपक्षः प्रकरणसमः । असिद्धः साध्यसमः । स च अविद्यमान-पक्षः, पक्षे अविद्यमानोऽविद्यमानव्याप्तिक इति त्रिधा । बाधितविषयः कालातीतः ॥

अनभिप्रेतमर्थमभिमतं प्रकल्प्य अभिप्रेतविरोधनेन तदुपपादनं छलम् । तत् त्रिविधं परिसंख्यानात् । तत्र वाक्यान्तरकल्पना यत्र तद्वाक्यच्छलम् । यत्र उक्तस्य हेतुत्वादिकल्पना तत् सामान्यच्छलम् । यत्र उपचरितस्य मुख्यार्थकल्पना तदुपचारच्छलम् ॥

विवक्षितवाक्यार्थव्याहृत्या दूषणाभासप्रसञ्जनं जातिः । कथायां तत्त्वाप्रतिपादकं निग्रहस्थानम् । वक्तुं सम्प्रत्यवस्थानं जातिः । गृह्यमाण-विशेषत्वेन प्रकरणसमत्वेन साधर्म्येण प्रत्यवस्थानं साधर्म्यसमः । गृह्यमाण-विशेषत्वेन प्रकरणसमत्वेन वैधर्म्येण प्रत्यवस्थानं वैधर्म्यसमः । साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः धर्मवैचित्र्याद् अविद्यमानधर्माध्यारोपेण प्रत्यवस्थानमुत्कर्षसमः । साध्यदृष्टान्तयो-

धर्मवैचित्र्यात् प्रतीतधर्मापवादानेन प्रत्यवस्थानमपकर्षसमः । साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः धर्मवैचित्र्याद् दृष्टान्तस्य ह्यापनीयत्वमात्रेण प्रत्यवस्थानं वर्ण्यसमः । साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः धर्मवैचित्र्यमात्राद् धर्मिणः ह्यापनीयत्वेन प्रत्यवस्थानमवर्ण्यसमः । साधनधर्मयुक्ते धर्मान्तरस्य दर्शनाद् धर्मिणि साध्यधर्मविकल्पेन प्रत्यवस्थानं विकल्पसमः । साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः धर्ममात्रहेतुतद्दृष्टान्ते यत्र अवयवानुमानप्रसङ्गनं साध्यसमः । हेतोः साध्यप्राप्त्या विशिष्टत्वेन प्रत्यवस्थानं प्राप्तिरसमः । प्राप्य साध्यमप्राप्य वा इति विकल्प्याप्राप्त्या साधकत्वेन प्रत्यवस्थानमप्राप्तिरसमः । उभयसिद्धे प्रमाणमात्रप्रश्नापरिशिष्टतया प्रत्यवस्थानं प्रसङ्गसमः । एकहेतुयोनित्वे प्रतिदृष्टान्तेन प्रत्यवस्थानं प्रतिदृष्टान्तसमः । प्रतिदृष्टान्तेन वा प्रत्यवस्थानं प्रतिदृष्टान्तसमः (?) । अनुत्पत्तेः साध्यकारणाभावात् साध्यविपरीतोपपत्तौ साधनाभावेन प्रत्यवस्थानमनुत्पत्तिसमः । असदृशायां वा कारणाभावात् प्रत्यवस्थानमनुत्पत्तिसमः । विशेषदर्शानाभिर्णये क्रियमाणे कुतश्चित्¹ संशयहेतोः धर्मिणि साध्यतद्विपरीतधर्मसंशयेन प्रत्यवस्थानं संशयसमः । प्रत्यनुमानेन स्वपक्षनीत्या प्रत्यवस्थानं प्रकरणसमः । प्रमाण-प्रमेययोः परस्परापेक्षया मूर्तापरसहभावासिद्ध्या प्रत्यवस्थानमहेतुसमः । आभिमानिकार्थापत्तितो बाह्यभिप्रेतपक्षविपरीतोपवर्णनेन प्रत्यवस्थानमर्थापत्तिसमः । एकधर्मोपपत्तेरविशेषे तेन साधर्म्यादविशेषेण प्रत्यवस्थानमविशेषसमः । प्रकरणोपपत्तिमात्रेण प्रत्यवस्थानमुपपत्तिसमः । साध्यसिद्धौ निर्दिष्टस्य प्रमाणस्य भावेऽपि साध्योपलब्ध्या प्रत्यवस्थानमुपलब्धिसमः । उपलब्धेरनुपलब्धाद् अभावसिद्ध्या प्रत्यवस्थानमनुपलब्धिसमः । विकल्पपुरस्सरं विषयगतस्वरूपारोपणाभावसिद्ध्या प्रत्यवस्थानमनुपलब्धिसम इति वा । सपक्षसाधर्म्याद् धर्मिणि सपक्षतुल्यधर्मोपपत्तेः अभिमतसाध्यसमानधर्मवृत्ता-प्रसङ्गनेन प्रत्यवस्थानं नित्यसमः । धर्मिणि साध्यधर्मस्य नित्यानित्यविकल्पनेनानुपपत्त्या प्रत्यवस्थानमनित्यसमः । कार्यनानात्वानुमानात् प्रत्यवस्थानं कार्यसमः ॥

कथायां विवक्षित[त]त्वाप्रतिपत्तिः निग्रहः । प्रतिपक्षे धर्मानुज्ञा स्वपक्षे प्रतिज्ञाहानिः । प्रतिज्ञातार्थप्रतिषेधे धर्मविकल्पात् तदर्थनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञान्तरम् । तदानामनुच्चारितायामुच्चारणमात्रतः स्वार्थद्वारेण व्याघातो विरोधः । उक्तप्रतिषेधे उक्तार्थापनयनमुक्तसन्न्यासः । अविशेषोक्तेः अवयवे प्रतिषिद्धे विशेषणान्तर-

मवयवान्तरम् । प्रकृतादर्थाद् अप्रतिसम्बन्धार्थमर्थान्तरम् । असमानसङ्केत-
वचनं निरर्थकम् । समानसङ्केतेनैकाभिहितं परिषत्प्रतिवादिभ्यामर्थ-
विज्ञातमविज्ञातार्थम् । अविरोद्धानां पौर्वापर्ययोगादेकवाक्यार्थप्रतिपादकत्वं यत्र
नास्ति तदपार्थक्यम् । प्रामाणिकक्रमव्यतिक्रमेण वचनमप्राप्तकालम् । अवयव-
विहीनं न्यूनम्, केवलप्रतिज्ञाव्यतिरिक्तावयवहीनं न्यूनं वा । अन्यत्रानुवादा-
ज्ज्ञातार्थस्य वाक्यस्य परिषदा एकेन अभिहितस्य दूषकप्रयोजकवतः प्रत्युच्चारण-
प्रागभावोऽननुभाषणम् । दूष्यविषयज्ञानानुमतिरज्ञानम् । असाधने सदुत्तरस्य
अप्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिभा । अन्यत्रनिग्रहास्फुरणे स्वयमेव कथाविच्छेदो विश्लेषः ।
स्वपक्षदोषाभ्युपगमात् परपक्षे दोषप्रसङ्गो मतानुज्ञा । असाधने सदुत्तरा-
प्रतिपत्तिः पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणम् । अतन्निग्रहस्थाने तन्निग्रहस्थानाभियोगो
निरनुयोज्यानुयोगः । प्रदेशान्तरस्थितसिद्धान्तविरोद्धम् अपसिद्धान्तः ।
हेत्वाभासाश्च यथोक्ताः ॥

यस्माज्जातं जगत्कार्यं यन्निमित्तं च लीयते ।

तस्मै सर्वज्ञरूपाय नमामि परमात्मने ॥

॥ लक्षणमाला समाप्ता ॥

SAMSKṚT AND PRAKṚT PROSODY*

BY

PROF. V. SITARAMIAH, *Bangalore*

It is as much natural piety as devotion to scholarship that has made Prof. Velankar's pupils bring out as the first work of their series *Haritoṣamālā*, *Jayadāman*, a collection of part of the master's own work on Samskr̥t and Prakṛt prosody. Four classics have been edited: The *Jayadevacchandas*; *Jayakīrti's Chandonuśāsana*; *Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara* and *Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana*. The first work has *Harṣaṭa's Vivṛti* printed along with it. The texts are followed by a classified list of metres called the *Samskr̥ta Vṛtta Kusumocaya* and an alphabetical index called *Vṛttanāmasūcī*. The work has a general introduction on the origin and growth of Samskr̥t Vṛttas (both *Varṇa* and *Mātrā*); a critical introduction to the texts; an account of the apparatus used; and a critical survey of the lists. This is a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of Prosody in India and is almost the first work of its kind; a fine record of clear-headed analysis and painstaking collection and assessment of matter.

For more than a quarter of a century now, Prof. Velankar has edited and interpreted such classics; and we owe to him the first publication of *Svayambhū*, *Jayakīrti*, *Virahāṅka*, *Ratnākara*, etc. He has said fundamental things on the Vedic and the Classical practice as well as on Prakṛt and Apabhramśa prosody. In the critical survey of the lists he states the results of his inquiry into practice showing the total number of metres mentioned by some ten metrists and actually used by 28 Mahākavis. The incidence and distribution of each kind is indicated even as the frequency of the more popular ones. The *Vṛttakusumocaya* section arranges the Vṛttas according to the number of the syllables used (from 1 to 45), gives the *Trika* description of them, the *Yati* positions in a line and the variant names of the same Vṛttas in other works. This clears much of the jungle caused by the irrationalities of parental affection in

* A Review-article on *JAYADĀMAN* by Prof. H. D. Velankar. *Haritoṣamālā*, 1. Poona Oriental Book House, Poona. Rs. 10.

the naming of the metres. Only a student of the subject like Prof. Velankar could do it so carefully. The results are remarkable:

“The list contains about 850 metres of which over 600 are Varṇavṛttas of the Samacatuṣpadī type. . . . It contains 33 Daṇḍakas, 50 Ardhasamacatuṣpadīs, 36 Viṣamacatuṣpadīs, and 42 Mātrāvṛttas. . . Out of this, however, a few alone were being actually handled by the Saṁskṛt poets of roughly the period between Piṅgala and Hemacandra. In a separate article (J.B.B.R.A.S. 1948-49) I have analysed metrically the Mahākāvya of about 28 Mahākavis from Aśvaghoṣa (2nd centy.) to Śivasvāmin (16th centy.). From this analysis it has been found out that out of 60 Varṇavṛtta Samacatuṣpadīs only about 100 seem to have been used by the poets, and even out of this 100 hardly more than 25 were employed with any frequency: e.g., for the composition of a canto in a poem, while the rest were used only for a change or ornamentation”—which tells us the clear disparity between the 13-odd crores of Samavṛttas and of more than 8 crores of the Āryā of the mathematicians in chandas.¹ Those who have regaled themselves and us with the Prastāra and Saṅkhyā possibilities must be shocked at this tale of actual performance.

The history of the development of Prosody in Saṁskṛt which Prof. Velankar has given us here is now accepted in bold outline. Some of the transitions are argued into better position and acceptance. He may not persuade all yet on the Anuṣṭubh-Āryā relationship; his dislike of some of the Mātrā metres as unmusical seems to be harsh. But that the Vaitālīya, etc., are a mixed structure midway in the line of development between the Varṇa and the Mātrā kinds as well as his statement on the preferences of later poets to piece together the fossils of earlier Vedic metres into new verse-patterns are sound observation.² Though his division of metres into types of Svara-saṅgīta, Varṇasaṅgīta, and Tālasaṅgīta is generally a correct featuring of traits, still we feel that he should prefer the term rhythm to music. Time, of course, plays a part in all verse

1. “Of the Mātrā Vṛttas the mahākāvis use only about 8 and they are mostly the derivatives of the Āryā” (JBBRAS. Vols. 24-5, 1948-9, p. 51).

2. Prof. B. M. Srikantia in our parts had worked out a few of them though he did not put in anything ready for publication.

structure. And, what is not an event in time? A regular, specific succession of syllable-events in time which is a verse, has principles and patterns of duration in it, though time does not and cannot hagride prosody. Music and Metre if related closely, are still 'different manifestations' of the same phenomenon: metrical and musical rhythm and time are different elements and media. Metrical quantities are profoundly modified by the structure and sound of syllables composing words which are the medium of expression in literature. Musical sound-units are purer, more absolute and more under the control of the musician; while the time measure need not be literary or metrical, for its principle of regularity is different from time in a Tāla system; an extra-literary, an extra-metrical category which can darken counsel and lead astray.

Only on one or two points we pray to be permitted to join in the chase: in elucidating the nature of the metrical structure, in the explanation of the Trika principle and on the Yati. In all these there still is room for a more radical reconsideration of our prosodic practice and theory.

The Vedic *Chandas* was classified according to the total number of syllables per line, the number of lines per stanza and the number of stanzas per Rk or section. Quantity, stress or division into Gaṇas do not find a mention in the texts. Though at first the quantities were perhaps indifferent, the tendency set in for long and short syllable preferences at fixed places and the cadence of the principal verse-modes got into fixed shape, each cadence being definitive of the Anuṣṭubh, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī lines whether of the Nyūna or Adhika kind. Neither the Avestan practice nor the Vedic is said to submit to division into the classical European dissyllabic characterisation. But the Iambic preference of the Vedic Gāyatrī-Anuṣṭubh-Jagatī³ is noticed by all. Whole Gāyatrīs of the earlier period are mechanically di-iambic. Variation shows up early and by the time the Anuṣṭubh becomes a stanza of 2 lines of 16 syllables each with 4 four-syllable groups its character has registered a full change. When it becomes the Epic Śloka almost every rule is broken: a 5th letter could be Guru; a 6th Laghu and the old Gāyatrī and new Anuṣṭubh

3. Kṣemendra's illustration of the Anuṣṭubh is almost wholly Iambic: Cf. a classical 8-syllable line like Vidyumnālā—all Guru—for roll and metrical feeling.

cadences could be uniambic. Almost every type is found. It becomes a pure form with but its total number of syllables and its lilt to tell us of its individuality. The Triṣṭubh has a different history and has raised qualitatively different problems. It certainly was no wisdom of the post-Vedic periods to have discontinued free experimentation on and with it. Without entering into the discussion whether the Jagatī is an extended Triṣṭubh or vice versa or whether the Triṣṭubh itself could be called a line with the Gāyatrī plus Iamb plus a Guru (modified because of the freedom of the Yati and the constraint of the cadence) or whether the Jagatī was merely a line with 3 Anuṣṭubh Gaṇas we may still say that our metrists did not recognise any grouping of the syllables or any definite principle of rhythm.

This is strange. Sandhi resolutions were granted; nyūna and ati variants were recognised; the 3 pitches and the plutas were the soul of the recitative modes; the variation that put in as Udātta what in another Vedic school was marked Anudātta was known; there was standardisation in recitation; and still the principle of rhythm was not formulated. What Prof. Velankar calls the music of voice modulation was the function of such a rhythmic pattern or nothing. When the movement of verse was definite and in a Triṣṭubh or Jagatī an early or late yati marked off the 2 spans of a verse, and the Pragāthās experimented with combinations of different verses, with catch, refrain, links, etc., showing preferences in the combination, the principle of rhythm was fully on view almost crying out for publication. The non-recognition of this principle is a clear want even in later prosodic work. Bharata with his usual fundamental sensing of the basic factors gives us: Chandohīno na śabdōṣti, Nacchandaśśabdavarjitam (XV. 40) (Cf. J.K. I, 2). He talks of Ubhaya Saṁyukti and goes on later (XV. 50—51): Śarirāśraya-sambhūtam jihvāśrayam athāpi ca. Other writers accept Chandas as La-ga-Saṁhitā. Still others speak of Śvāsa in connection with the yati in a line-movement; or of the Ānantarya-Saṅgati of Ia and Ga in Vṛttas. Almost everything is ready on hand, therefore, for formulating a general theory of Rhythm. And as the feature that defines the structure and movement of a stanza pattern an individual rhythmic expression is the only all-satisfying principle.

It is a surface analysis that led our metrists into the Trika grouping of syllables in a verse. Useful in its way as aid to one kind of measurement, its self-sufficiency and the air of finality about it conceals a basic lack of soul. How and when the 4-syllable Vedic gaṇa⁴ was changed into the classical *Mayarasatajabhanalaga* is not known. When a line consists of L's and S's and they are gathered into 3 syllables per group only 8 (3^2-1) such are possible; and the limit of a perfect line will be 26 (3^3-1 or $3 \times 8+2$). And Pratyaya and Saṁkhyā kramas sounded the possibilities to the point of calculating what Gaṇa was where in the millionth vṛtta of, say, the 20-syllable mode. This triumph of calculation killed experiment and invention; standardised the 4-line stanza⁵ pattern and set the seal on the structure of each line composed. Resolution by the Prastāra process with short for long, (or with two shorts for one long in the nātrā gaṇas) equivalenced or substituted, became a regular mode in evolving and naming the new stanzas. Nothing was left to the enterprise of the poet. This was disastrous.

4. Even in the Avestan the articulation of the syllables, they say, must follow a definite mode. The indication of the caesura marks the line-parts. "Allen in correction of Westphal has shown that the common ancestors of Germans, Indians and Iranians sang their ballads in a verse which consisted of 2 sharply separated members of which each had 4 ictus and 4 light syllables and each member began with a light syllable and closed with an 'Ictus', Kaegi: *Āg Veda*, p. 567.

5. Which explains why the 3 Eight's of the Gāya'rī became a stanza of 4 Sixes despite the obvious uncouthness of the movement. In this connection an inquiry deserves to be instituted into why odd-line stanzas are comparatively scarce everywhere; and why when they do occur they tend to have unequal line-length at some point or other.

When they fixed the length of a stanza as 4 lines they killed prosodic development. Extension was essayed laterally in line-lengths up to 999 syllables (!) rather than by the number of lines per stanza or for the creation of running metres like the Blank Verse. How great a loss it is can be understood by any one who has experience of other literatures than ours. When the Pipīlikā hordes invaded the line-patterns sterility was achieved.

Prof. Veiankar has explained why 3 syllables were accepted as basis for the Varṇa Gaṇa grouping. After listing similar practice in 3 Guṇas, 3 Kālas, 3 accents, the 3 phases of life, etc., he comes nearest to scoring the bull's eye when he says that Pāṇini begins Bahutva with 3 and that 3 is the smallest of the large and largest of the small group of numbers.⁶ One must submit that analogy is no explanation or proof. In Prosody we are dealing with specific sound-phenomena, their recognisable recurrence, their grouping for rhythm and the measurements thereof. The following could, we think, be also considered in arriving at a final explanation:—

"Two sounds set up a rhythm which will be confirmed by a third". (This is true for syllables as for mātrās; for feet as for syllables and mātrās.)

"Three is the first number at which a sequence becomes perceptible, and a sequence of more than 3 masses would,—in painting— tend to be too obvious." (H. Read, *Meaning of Art*, p. 64).

"The ground-rhythm of vocal utterance demands simple pulsations of two or three beats, beyond which it cannot sustain itself. Thus longer measures of 4, 5, 6 or 7 beats are tolerated only as occasional substitutions."⁷— meaning that larger units of syllables or feet would be more than a single sustained utterance, less well-knit, less integral in structure.⁸ Just as a single line does not make a stanza,⁹ a single syllable cannot make a gaṇa or a sufficient rhythmic movement needed to constitute a line, notwithstanding the pedantry of the later manufacturers of metrical curiosities. A syllable, simple or not, is a base-unit of articulation and the nuclear syllable seems to be the long or heavy. One more syllable,—long or short,—is needed as minimum supplement to form a foot. If the nuclear syllable be short a syllable foot with two shorts would perhaps

6. 3 is a mystic number also.

7. Could we extend it to spans also in line-structure? More than 3 is a crowd. Even 3 is sometimes more than company; yet perhaps comfortable. Note how the bulk of examples in the index range between the Gāyatrī and the 16-syllable stretches. (p. 59)

8. A Magaṇa seems slightly more than one unit. (Cp. Omond's discussion of Monopressure. P. 25ff. *A Study of Metre*.)

9. There be valiant ones who say it can.

be too small¹⁰ (even as 2 mātrās do when a mātrā-valuation is imposed upon or used as basis of rhythm.)¹¹ They seem to need the complement of an extra-syllable to give them staying power. The other two-syllable gaṇas are what the western people call the Iamb, the Trochee, and the Spondee. Of these the Spondee is sturdily self-sufficient and capable of forming natural alliances with other successions of sound groups. The Iamb and the Trochee, — more particularly the former, — seem to need pairing because the syllables are unequal. That is possibly the reason why in the Ṛg Veda the 4 syllabic —often di-iambic— becomes featuresome at a stage; as it is, they say, in Greek which makes feet Dipodies. The smallest increment of sound to these units would be the addition of a third syllable to fix a rhythmic unit called the syllable foot of our Akṣara Gaṇa type.

What decides the case in favour or against the Trika is not whether the 3-syllable grouping is wrong but whether it is a natural and sufficient mode of conveying the rhythm and the distinctive quality of a line as the live limb of a stanza. If the number of syllables is not counted and a whole unfamiliar stanza is written through what enables us to discover the principle of the stanza structure? Only the natural spans making up a pattern; the position of the full pauses; or the phrases repeated and composed in a definite way in building up the whole: not the Trikaracanā of a line, which, at best, is a descriptive account of its composition. And, when stanza after stanza yields to another principle of analysis (e.g. Toṭaka, Pañcacāmara, Dōdhaka, Drutavilambita, Krauñcapada, Campakamālā, Svāgatā, Anavadyā, etc.) — not to speak of the commentary on many varieties of verse in Pīākṛta Pañṅala and in the Vāṇibhūṣaṇa—the validity of the Trika system as adequate explanation of structure becomes thin. Prof. Velankar who has made fundamental analysis of our verse-system and is free in his loyalties should not find it

10. The Pyrrhic is recognised in some literatures; the 2 mātrā gaṇa is tenable in Prakṛt. Note that 4's and 5's are resolvable as composites of 2.

11. The basic Mātrā gaṇas seem to be of 2 and 3 of which others, even the 4's and 5's, are compounds. One variety of 4 (equal to Jagaṇa) is near basic.

difficult to give us a more general theory of measurement. Breath movements, the tongue and the ear are the most important makers and discerners of rhythm,—impression and appearance of equivalence seeming to be enough trick or technique to organise the impulse.

The Professor mentions Gaṇa-consonances and manipulations, etc., as principles of change in the working out of new line patterns. We wish some students made a full study of why Gaṇa Maitrī and Gaṇa Vaira were noticed by our metrists. Could this phenomenon help us to explain why every foot does not mate happily with every other in sequences of movement and why cacaphony, even ugliness and impossibility of mouthing result, if they tried it.¹² Lines must be, as Prof. B. M. Srikantia used to tell us, not the offspring of Mathematics, but muse-begotten, vital and expressive, suited to the genius of the language and suited to poetic personality and purpose. There can be discordances as between these. Wreckage of this sort is strewn thick over the length of Prosodic history.

The next point almost follows from this: the character and function of Yati. When lines are full, independent sentences for sense—as they were in the earlier periods—Bharata's definition of Yati is perfect: *Arthasamāpti* marks it for him.¹³ 2 or 4 such sentences, similar or dissimilar, made for dupling or for the *caturaśra* movements are used for stanza completeness. When a full line is broken into 2 equal parts of 4, 4, 5, 6 syllables as in the *Anuṣṭubh*, *Pañkti* and *Jagatī* lines—original or progeny—Yati is more likely to occur at the exact middle, unless the poet is clever or inspired enough to dodge it or carry it a place or two this way or that in a line. Prosodically there is progress then. In syllable-lines which are fairly long the Yati becomes marked from the *Triṣṭubh* *chandas* onwards: longer lines having more Yatis than the shorter,—for obvious reasons. The line-length with its load and character of successive syllables needs then more than 2 or 3 breaths of

12. Even as Music becomes its opposite in the unlimited kinds of mathematical grouping in the *cakras*. *Na śōbhām janayanti hi?*

13. And that is perhaps why Bharata is among the disregards.

spanning¹⁴ to cover it. These can be 2 equal ones as in Paṅkti or 3 as in Sragdharā or 4 as in Mandākinī or of a different kind in Ghoṭaka. Or, the 2 spans may be of unequal length as in Triṣṭubh (4. 7 or 5. 6) or, 3 at 4. 6. 7 as in Mandākrāntā. A different principle of pairing would be that of Madakalanī I. 20—3 (5. 6. 5. 6) if Śarāṅgabāṇāṅgaiḥ can be accepted as correct description for a line of a total length of 20 syllables.

Rucirā (15) with 4, 1, 4, 6,¹⁵—if this be accepted as its correct description,—is obviously less prosody than recitative. In the Vedic Triṣṭubh the Yati is at 4 or 5 with freedom for the pre-yati groups while the post-yati positions, notably the last 3 syllables, are fixed; which develop later on into, say, the Śālinī, Mālinī and the Mandākrāntā cadences or where the Indravajrā final blocks go into Vasantatilakā. The place of Yati becomes important with shift in practice when as in a later classical period a line of 11 syllables or 12 gets its Yati later than at 5.¹⁶ The principle of movement seems to change in these cases.

Without, for the time being, considering the 2 schools of metrists, one accepting the Yati and the other disregarding it and the fact that there are in regional languages metrists who put the Yati a full place after the Samskr̥tists do and the fact that persons who say that Yati is not fixed or determinable strictly for it depends on sense, syntax, the rule of the metrists and the will or convention of the poets—there is still a phenomenon like aural felicity, Śrutisukha and Padaracanā, being violated, and a contrary one which indicts a Yati as at the wrong place. This only means that in such lines the structural Yati falls irrespective of whether a gaṇa is completed or a

14. Those who called the Yati, Viccheda, Virama and the Svāsasthāna all sensed its character correctly. The lines break up into their constituent parts. They rest or pause for breath at those points. Kṣemendra seems to be most clear-headed and sensitive about this as in most matters of prosodic function. He almost says that a line consists of bits of such and such syllabic lengths.

15. With 14 shorts and 1 long it is actually 3 fours and a 3 (2+1)

16. Cp. Anavasita. I. 11—21. Where is it in Svāgatā and Rathoddhatā? Or at what point is it in Vāhinī, Puṭa and Jaloddhatagati? The roll has changed totally from the Vedic ancestors.

word's natural components are respected or not. Much of this difficulty seems to us to disappear if we recognised Yati as a structural constituent, a natural and necessary part of the verse, rhythm-indicating, rhythm-determined. Also, it is not so much the reader's breath we think of as the line's own breath as it girds up to compass the period between the opening and the terminal syllable of the line before it turns in (Vṛtta) to the next. How else could we know that in one line it comes early and at another late? And how do we check up on it except by structural and articulatory reference?

Yati has another feature when certain Varṇa verse patterns in the process of movement resolve themselves more naturally into Mātrā groups. Openly here the Trika Vibhajana blows off and a new principle of relationship—in 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 or 8 mātrā groups—the 1st 2 being basic (and the 3rd slightly perhaps) and others composite of these. Many larger Vṛttas with or without an opening catch—1 L or 2 S's—break up into mātrā groups composed of them, (cf. eg. Prākṛta Paiṅgala's Gītikā or Carcarī). The definition by *najanaga* for An ṛtagati is even less satisfactory than the Prākṛt description of it with 4L, 1Ga, 4L, 1Ga. And the Vidūṣaka's Campakamālā should distress him with a *Bhamasaga*, when he desires to caper (svacchandam!) with S. II. SS. S. IIS. S. in the enjoyment of his Ōgarabhatta Rambha a pattā etc. the while strict metre could concede to him only a distich of 4-mātrā gaṇas each.

In the Mātrāgaṇa type noted as belonging to the Karṇāṭa-bhāṣā in Jayakīrti we may mention that at the end of each such group—true of all mātrā gaṇas generally—there is a natural beat; and out of rhythmic phrases of one or more varieties of combination of such units a metrical bar or sentence is made. This beat is at least a partial Yatisthāna though structurally the fuller Yati is felt where the phrases or spans end. Sometimes an alliteration or end-rhyme confirms this event. These beats need not integrate into establishing any Tāla aegis and if it did or could, it is not the prosodist's main consideration. As basis of singing, however, the time domain functions. The same is true of Jayakīrti's Mahākṣara, our Piriakkara. The opening gaṇa is of one type and marks itself off to be followed by 5 other gaṇas and another of a third kind (and this is said to be Niyata) closes the line. When mātrā-valuation is made of each, the whole metre could be described as a pattern of 7 similar gaṇas (usually of the middle type) closed with a line-

ending guru. Its translation would then be complete. All are entitled to their freedom. But the colour and the character, the richness and the raciness of a native mode are then altered beyond recognition and redemption.

While we are on the subject of Yati we might mention another fact that the structural Yati of a line is different from the syntactical and sense Yatis which the poet manages in his career of composition. The Yati we are considering is part of the ground-rhythm, a sort of base on which the word-music is played by a gifted artist and performer: so that practice and convention have to work within limits and caprice is not exactly operative. The Yati is a function of and an event in the integral structure of the line.

We spoke of full Yatis so far. There are shorter and more incipient rests which do not usually count though present none the less before a regular Yati and elsewhere in the line. This is like the rest of a toe or a skim of the earth for movement when a long stretch of the ground has to be covered in more than two or three steps; or like a design which is to be worked in foot movements in a dance. In an Ardhasama vṛtta a longer 1st line tends 'to pull up to itself' the shorter 2nd line making the stanza sound like a composition in two long lines, and the point at which the 1st ends shows up with a full pause.¹⁷ It can be so even in a Samavṛtta: the movement that begins with the last śṛṇ of the 1st line carries over into the 2nd until it rests at the end of it; the 3rd and the 4th repeat this exercise and make the vṛtta a unit so to say of 2 parts rather than 4. Though all along the parallel construction of the 4 lines is clearly visible there is not that close intimacy between the end of the 2nd and the start of the 3rd as there is between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd.¹⁸ And where the meaning is carried in a non-stop run from the 1st to the last syllable of the stanza the 4 lines constitute an integral expression; line movements and caesura cooperate to produce a rich organic texture where the meaning, mood and colour almost subdue or assimilate the vehicle.

17. Even as our śaṭpadi can be written as a stanza of 4 lines: the 1st and the 2nd, the 4th and the 5th forming single long lines and the 3rd and 6th written as the 2nd and 4th lines. What then is a line?

18. Cp. A. B. Keith. (H.S.L. p. 417.)

It is wrong to judge line-rhythm by written symbols alone. It must be read aloud and heard giving full value to the sounds in movement.¹⁹ Poets measure the swing with their breath or on their tongue; body, ear and blood feel and catch the pattern. No real poet counts the number of letters or writes by the shorthand tip of the Trika directive. And when one recites naturally, durations, relations and Yatis set up and are felt because they form and are registered. The Avestan lines and the early Vedic verse even, like the later verses, must have been so spoken. Even if they are called isosyllabic the reading form is fixed: some letters are not articulated fully; some are resolved into constituent sounds; and some actually change their verbal or literary shape. The accent could not have been so completely innocuous as is made out and the pitches do tell to rhythmic effect.²⁰ All together fix the roll and the lilt. And this is what makes it 'music'; what adjusts the extra syllables and makes do with catalexis. One feels that before it is too late lines which are in issue were recorded as spoken by the reciters and checked up for theory.²¹ Reading mode—in the metrical—modifies and induces different moods and poetic feeling; even as a different rhythmic pattern is generated. There is a verse, called Vana-mañjarī (22) in our Nāgavarma, or as it is called here Madirā, Latākusuma etc. (1.22-4) with 7 Bha's and a guru which is described by an 11th century poet also as an Eḍeyakkara, a Caupadike, 2 Ṣaṭpadis and so on. The description fits too. The rhythm and music of each such mode is distinct and distinguishable. What then is the metrical meaning of such a phenomenon?

The discovery and publication of Jayakīrti's Chandonu-śāsana is a special benefaction to the Kannaḍa students. Generally the descriptions agree with our Nāgavarma's work.²² There are differences, however, between the two. One wonders what original Jayakīrti followed in naming the Kannaḍa Gaṇas Rati, Madana and Sara, and their symbols

19. That is how it is born. The skeletal movement could be whistled or played on an instrument. It is a distinct, live form.

20. Prosodic analysis has been made drab and dead already without deference to all those live elements which make for the wealth of sound in movement.

21. So, too, should some P'rākṛt and Apabhraṃśa movements.

22. Cp. The B.U.J., 1947, Prof. K. G. Kundaṇagār's article.

Ra. La. Dha. Our Jain prosodists and the Telugu writers call them Indra, Sūrya, Candra while other Kannaḍa writers call them Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra. The Akṣara names are different in Jayakīrti though they have their equivalents in Saṁskṛt. Mahotsava is not true to the Kannaḍa genius because it takes a ISI. So is Ramā. Neither Ramā nor Guṇa is familiar to us. Prof. B. M. Srikantia suggested that Ela may be the yālapada in the Yakṣagānas, an old Dravidian ballad-mode sung to the accompaniment of a Yāl. Our sense of loss deepens to find that none of the writers mentioned in the work are present yet in a Kannaḍa work. Some names are new. Can Śrīpādapūjya be a variant for Pūjyapāda, the great Jain scholar, and can he have written a work on prosody from which Jayakīrti derives his names and definitions of the Karṇāṭaka Sampradāya? The example for Ṣaṭpadī does not properly indicate the 3rd and 6th lines, for they are deficient in a final Guru.

The Yati-marking could be made more uniform in the index as either for spans or for positions. And one or two corrections are indicated: E.g., 1.21-3 and 4 have both the same description with Yati marked for the 4th and none for the 3rd. Nāgavarma puts it at 13; (and, is it so late as that?) Krauñcapada 1.25-4 has to be fixed as between N.S., Vr.R., the commentaries and *a la* the description in the Jayadāman list. So too perhaps the Aśvalalita.

Jayadāman is a gift of substance. May it soon be possible for Prof. Velankar to print the Ratnamanjūṣā²³ and other works still awaiting publication. The analysis of the practice of the Khaṇḍa-kavis and Nāṭaka-kavis which he promises will settle once and for all the tale of Vṛttas actually used by the best practitioners of verse; while the publication of the fossil groups which become blocks for the structure of new verse in the classical Saṁskṛt days will tell us of the definite rhythmic preferences of our poets and experimenters in the far away past.

23. It should be interesting if only for the fact that it is said to expound the 2-syllable gaṇa-measurement. After all articulation of sound is guided by the same forces and principles among mankind and a radical analysis might take us nearer a 2-syllable structure at base.

THE XVI ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

The Sixteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Lucknow, under the auspices of the Lucknow University. Acharya Narendradev, Vice-Chancellor of the University, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, Head of the Sanskrit Department and Dr. K. C. Pandey of the same Department were, together with Profs. D. D. Gupta and Syed Rizavi, the Local Secretaries. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Retired Professor of History and Archaeology, Madras University, was the General President of the Session. Among the Section Presidents were Prof. K. K. Handiqui, Vice-Chancellor of the Gauhati University, and Dr. Malasekhara of Ceylon, and among the five hundred delegates were Dr. Horace Isaac Poleman, Cultural Attache to the American Embassy in India, Dr. Yarrow of Yale, Dr. Dularey, Paris, and Mr. J. D. M. Derret of London.

II

The opening function of the Conference was held on October 3 in the Malavya Hall of the University and the proceedings commenced with the recitation of Veda in the Mādhyandina Śākhā. In a fluent and extempore welcome address, Acharya Narendradev emphasised that

“the true history of India will be a portrayal of the life of the people as lived in institutions which they built and reared. Only a person who has no national prejudices, who is a seeker after truth, who has mastered the technique of research, who knows the laws of social change, has a view point of history and knows its methodology can do justice to the task of rewriting the history of India. A nation that has no history of its own,—which does not know itself,—has lost its soul. While all honour was due to those European scholars who showed us the way and trained many of us in methods of modern research, it would be a matter of shame if we did not recognise our obligations and equip ourselves for discharging them”.

In his message to the Conference, Prime Minister Nehru said:

“We have to give a proper place in our educational system to the study of Sanskrit which contains these treasures of the past.”

Pt. Govind Vallabh Pant, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, said in his opening address, that while the utmost use of modern scientific discoveries for raising the standard of living could not be over-emphasised, the neglect of oriental culture would indeed be a tragedy; pointing out that “in spite of a bewildering diversity, the process of synthesis, continuously at work, had produced in this vast and ancient land an underlying uniformity”, he hoped that oriental research and studies would help to foster the growth of this cultural unity.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri made in his Presidential Address a forceful plea for the restoration of a proper place to classics in the scheme of education. It is reasonable for us, he said, to expect that humanistic studies would receive adequate encouragement from the National Government, as India would lose much and the world gain little, if we succeeded in producing an Indian replica of British or American industrialism. Contrasting the Eastern and Western outlook on life, the President said that the basic ideal of our civilization was that we should put a conscious restraint on the growth of new wants.

“Our inheritance of well founded, slowly developed codes of Satya, Dharma, and Ahimsā, shared still by millions of our countrymen, of religious toleration and social interdependence based on a philosophy of duties rather than of rights, are far more precious to us than anything which scientific discoveries could bestow. It has been truly said that ‘progress is sure and continuous in proportion as it depends upon the principle of tradition, *i.e.*, in proportion as the gains of the past can be handed on and form a capital for advancing the operations of the future’. We have indeed a great stock of traditional wisdom to draw upon, and it is not unknown to most of you that some acute thinkers of the West like Gerald Heard, Charles Waterman and Rene Guenon turn to Eastern literature and sociology for hints towards a better ordering of their atomized, chaotic society. Our Epics and Purāṇas are veritable store-houses of worldly wisdom and social

morality expressed in a form which attracted and engaged the common man, and constitute a standing refutation of the ignorant charge that the ancient sages and scholars neglected the education of the people."

Stressing the duty that we owe to our great books, Prof. Sastri said that we¹

"should set about creating conditions under which a fair percentage of our youth will get the chance of studying such books directly for themselves, and imbibe our national ideals at the fountain source. Sanskrit and its literature must gain a much larger place in courses of study for the young, and in the researches undertaken by maturer minds, not only in the humanities but in the applied sciences, like medicine and astronomy, spheres in which we have ancient achievements which have been almost totally neglected and forgotten.

"India has most to gain for herself and for the world by maintaining her identity, the ethos of her own time-honoured culture, and by renovating its moorings in the basic values of Satya, Dharma, Ahimsā, Asaṅga and so on, which have been impaired, but by no means stopped, by generations of foreign rule; she must regain her freedom of spirit; and seek out her own solutions of her problems, material and moral, instead of running after alien models or depending too much on foreign aid. A primary prerequisite for such vital developments is the restoration of our classics to a place of honour in our educational system, and the planning and steady pursuit of their study and interpretation in the light of present requirements. This is work which can legitimately claim a larger measure of support from our present government than from its predecessor, and it is no small disappointment to us that our efforts in this direction have as yet borne no fruit. When we last met at Bombay in November 1949 we adopted a Resolution urging the Union Government to establish an All-India Indological Research Institute at a suitable centre at an early date.

"We may not underrate the financial difficulties of government, but may point out that these difficulties do not, as they should not, stand in the way of the pursuit of schemes, scientific and technical, considered essential, and that the unceremonious abandonment of this particular

proposal bespeaks a radically unsound attitude to the important studies in which this Conference is most interested.

"The collection and preservation of ancient manuscripts is another subject that requires to be handled at the Union Government level to ensure early action and proper co-ordination of the work done in different parts of the country. A modest resolution making concrete recommendations towards the establishment of a Manuscripts Survey of India along the lines of the other scientific departments of the Central Government has remained a dead letter".

Adverting to the questions of the medium of instruction in University education and the common national language, Nilakanta Sastri observed that we should have

"no hesitation in accepting Hindi without any reservation as the national language of the future, and consequently the medium of exchange for all advanced knowledge among the Universities and States of India".

Reviewing the progress of research work at different centres in India, Prof. Sastri referred to the post-war revival of Indic studies in the West, the institution of a Sanskrit Professorship at the Teheran University, the announcement of an Indological Professorship in Indonesia, the starting of a College of Indology in the Banaras Hindu University, a similar venture in Mysore, and the continued activity of the many Research Institutes, Manuscripts Libraries and University Departments. Commendable mention was made of Dr. S. M. Katre's lexicographical undertaking at the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona, the work of the Vaidika Sam-sodhana Mandal, Poona, and Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala's publication "The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra." Regarding the main work of Dr. V. Raghavan at the Madras University, the New Catalogus Catalogorum, he referred to the excellent reception that its first volume evoked from scholars and said that further work had been

"steadily pursued under the competent and energetic guidance of Dr. V. Raghavan".

He continued:

"All honour to the University of Madras for having essayed this stupendous task under the impetus given by the late

Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppaswami Sastri, whose high standard of scholarship and precision is being ably maintained by his loyal disciple Dr. V. Raghavan. But to ensure the successful completion in a reasonable time of this comprehensive and critical Bibliography, systematic recurring aid should be forthcoming from the Central and Provincial Governments, and perhaps also from the UNFSCO organisation. It is necessary that such aid should be offered early to the Madras University, rather than that it should wait for an application from that body”.

Bringing his address to a close, the President who is the Conference's elected representative on the Central Archaeological Advisory Board, made the following important observations on the work of the Archaeological Survey of India:

“The Conference has a vital interest in the progress of Indian Archaeology. And it views with some concern the handicaps under which the Government Department of Archaeology seems to have been functioning in recent years. Dr. Wheeler did good work in the excavation of selected sites and the training of younger men in up-to-date methods of excavation but for the rest of it, he strangled epigraphy whose value for Indian history he had perhaps little chance of realizing, and conservation was totally neglected. The sphere of work of the Superintendents of Circles was unduly circumscribed and there ensued an undue centralization of excavation and publication. Publication has suffered most, because government presses which are flooded with political work have no time for academic publications, and the obstacles placed by finance and audit in the way of printing archaeological publications in private presses are said to be insuperable. Again, there is a besetting uncertainty of personnel even at the top which hampers steady planning and work. The problem of integrating the archaeological departments of former ‘Indian States’ with the Union Department has apparently not been faced and solved. Above all, the budget of the Department is totally inadequate; the allotment is so low as to leave little for field work of various kinds after the payment of salaries. The whole question deserves to be looked

into at expert level, not by a hurriedly imported foreigner who knows little of our conditions and requirements, but by a body of knowledgeable persons from within the country. The Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology is ready to hand for the purpose. We are glad to note that the plan of bringing into existence a National Central Museum in different stages has gained the approval of the Finance Committee of the Legislature. We hope that nothing will happen to interrupt the execution of the plan hereafter, and that in the course of a few years we shall have a Museum which will be the equal of the best National Museums of the world".

III

The Conference went into the thirteen permanent Sections and the two additional Sections for Hindi and Urdu. In the Vedic, there were 33 papers; in the Iranian, 7; in Classical Sanskrit 43; in Islamic 5; in Arabic and Persian 10; in Pāli and Buddhism 9; in Prākṛt and Jainism 6; in History 43; in Archaeology 10; in Indian Linguistics 17; in Dravidian Culture 8; in Religion and Philosophy 45; in Technical Sciences and Arts 17; and in Hindi and Urdu, 8 and 6.

In addition to Sectional meetings, there were two public lectures illustrated with slides, one of which was delivered by Mr. Khwaja Md. Ahmad, Hyderabad, and the other by Sri Krishna Dev, Patna, on the recent Mauryan excavations near Patna.

In the general assembly there were also two public symposia on the Place of Classics in the National Educational System and the Shaping and Development of the National Language. The former was presided over by the U. P. Minister of Education, the Hon. Sri Sampurnanand, and the General President, Dr. S. K. De, Pt. Venkateswara Dikshitar, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. S. M. Katre, Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya and Rev. C. Bulcke stressed the value of classics and pleaded for the provision of adequate facilities for the study of Sanskrit by all Indians. Sir Har Govinda Misra, who presided over the second symposium on Hindi, and whose address was circulated in Sanskrit, Hindi and English, laid stress on the role that Sanskrit had to play in the shaping of the Rashtrabhasha. He said:

“it is our bounden duty to introduce a study or of at least the elements of Sanskrit language and literature as compulsory subject in our schools and colleges...A compulsory study of Sanskrit alone would make Hindi live in all the non-Hindi areas in the closest bond of friendship with the other regional languages of India.”

Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, veteran Sanskritist of Poona, made a closely argued out case against forcibly foisting a poor bazaar tongue on a nation. This was opposed by Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya. Dr. Aryendra Sarma, a Hindi-native working in a non-Hindi area, recounted the difficulties of spreading Hindi and asked for its standardization and revision of its grammar. Dr. Baburam Saksena saw the reasonableness of the above demand and accepted that its future and new vocabulary had to be built on a Sanskrit basis. Dr. Dharendra Varma thought that Hindi should grow to its increasing needs by itself and that efforts to bring upon it the influences of regional languages would mean its extinction. Opposing the forcing of Hindi on non-Hindi areas, Dr. Goda Varma also asked for a simplified grammar, at least for the non-Hindi areas.

In the nights, entertainments were provided for the delegates: the Jñāna Vardhinī Sabhā of the Sanskrit Dept. of the University put on boards the Sanskrit drama *Veṇīśāmhāra*; staff-members of the local Morris College of Music gave recitals of Hindusthani music and Kathak dance; and the University Hindi Dept. staged “Skandagupta Vikramāditya” in Hindi.

There was an exhibition of manuscripts and paintings.

An excursion to the nearby archaeological site of Badoi had, however, to be cancelled owing to some last minute difficulty.

IV

At its concluding meeting, the Conference commended important Indian undertakings of magnitude, the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* and the Vedic Index of the Vishveshwaranand Vedic Research Institute to the UNESCO for assistance.

The Conference reiterated its Bombay resolution and requested the Govt. of India to start a Central Indological Institute and to institute a full-fledged Manuscript Survey of India.

By another resolution the conference appealed to the Govt. of Ceylon to start a Buddhistic Academy.

The Conference congratulated the Rajasthan and Bihar Governments for starting new Research Institutes under Government auspices.

By a further resolution, the Conference appealed to the Government, at the Centre and the States to provide for Sanskrit education from the earlier stages of the school.

V

The Conference accepted the invitation of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha to hold its Seventeenth Session at Ahmedabad in 1953. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor of Linguistics. Calcutta University, was elected General President for the Ahmedabad Session. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Patna, was elected Vice-President, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Poona, and Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras, General Secretaries.

The following scholars will preside over the different sections: Vedic: Dr. Raghu Vira; Iranian: E. M. F. Kanga; Classical Sanskrit: Prof. R. D. Karmarkar; Islamic Culture: N. N. Nadvi; Arabic & Persian: M. G. Zubeid Ahmed; Pāli & Buddhism: N. K. Bhagavat; Prākṛt & Jainism: Kamta Prasad Jain; History: U. N. Ghoshal; Archaeology: Amalananda Ghosh; Indian Linguistics: C. R. Sankaran; Dravidian culture: Dr. C. Achyuta Menon; Religion & Philosophy: Dr. Mohan Singh; Technical Sciences and Fine Arts: Dr. Goetz.

VI

At the concluding session, Dr. Altekar made observations on certain necessary improvements in the working of the Conference. This is a question which has been touched upon in several Sectional Presidential Addresses, and many members too had from time to time forwarded suggestions and resolutions in this behalf. There is urgent need to make the Sections at least function more effectively. The standard of papers requires improvement and all this must be done without allowing the popularity of the Conference to suffer.

OBITUARY

SHRIMANT BHAWANRAO SHRINIVASARAO *alias* BALASAHEB
PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., C.B.E., RAJA OF AUNDH.*

Born 24-10-1868]

[Died 13-4-1951

On the 6th of July of 1918, the Ruler of a tiny State in Bombay may be said, in a sense, to have made history. For, on that day, at the meeting of the General Body of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh (as he was then officially styled), announced a donation of one lakh of rupees for the preparation and publication of a critical and illustrated edition of India's national epic, the *Mahābhārata*. Just a year ago, the friends and admirers of Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar had founded a Research Institute at Poona with a view to commemorating the name and work of that great *savant*. It was then suggested that one of the literary projects which this new institute would undertake should be a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The need for such an edition, which, in the words of Winternitz, would serve "as the only sound basis for all Mahābhārata studies, nay, for all studies connected with the epic literature of India", had been felt ever since 1897. In 1904, the International Association of Academies of Europe and America actually started the work. Even some funds were collected for this purpose in Great Britain. But the first world-war put an abrupt end to this great literary enterprise. Even after the war, the work on the European edition of the *Mahābhārata* could not be re-started. So the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute decided to undertake the edition, making a fresh start. The main difficulty, as every one realised, was, of course, the money. But through his generous offer of a grant of one lakh of rupees for this purpose, Shrimant Balasaheb made it possible for the Institute to launch this gigantic and ambitious scheme. A grant of such magnitude for a single literary project from a single individual—

* The late Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh, was one of the earliest to become Life Members of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. We are thankful to Dr. R N. Dandekar, Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, for this obituary note on the Rajah Sahab. V.R.

and what is more, from one of the ruling princes whose liberal inclinations, if any, notoriously lay in directions other than academic or scholarly—was, till then, a thing almost unknown in India.

But even before this momentous event in his career, Shrimant Balasaheb had established his reputation as an enlightened ruler and a discreet patron of arts and letters. A graduate-prince was a kind of novelty in those good old days. Therefore Balasaheb, who took the B.A. degree of the Bombay University in 1894, immediately attracted the attention of the people. And, on account of his manifold activities in various spheres of national life, he retained it till the time of his death. Ever since he was a pupil of Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in the Deccan College, Poona, Balasaheb had been wanting to do something for his *guru* and the subjects which he taught. He had already received regular training in painting and so he decided to exploit that training for the purpose which was so dear and near to his heart, namely, the resuscitation and popularisation of ancient learning and culture. Accordingly he painted a series of pictures depicting various scenes in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and issued them under the name of *Citramaya Rāmāyaṇa*. He had also planned to prepare, on similar lines a *Citramaya Mahābhārata*, but, when the Bhandarkar Institute undertook a critical edition of the great epic, he offered to supply illustrations for that edition. His paper on "The lines to be followed in drawing the pictures for the *Mahābhārata*" (*ABORI* III, 1-34) amply testifies to the great pains which he took to make his illustrations adequately suit the high standard set for itself by the critical edition. It is neither possible nor necessary to recount here the Rajasaheb's many activities in the field of arts and letters. Suffice it to say that every good cause relating to arts and letters found in him an actively interested and generously inclined promoter. One must not, fail to refer to the most excellent Museum and Picture Gallery at Aundh, which, to the casual visitor, may appear somewhat out-of-place in a small and out-of-the-way place like Aundh, but which will, without doubt, stand for ever as an eloquent memorial to the broad culture, refined taste and inherent patriotism of Shrimant Balasaheb.

This obituary notice, brief as it has to be, cannot be to be complete without reference to two or three other impor-

tant facets of the Rajasaheb's personality. The Rajasaheb was an accomplished *Kīrtanakāra* and had great faith in the efficacy of *Kīrtana*, which he often characterised as a glorious heritage handed down to humanity by Nārada, as a means to educate people in the art of life. Steeped in ancient lore though he was, Balasaheb—significantly enough—drew for the material for his *ākhyānas* mainly upon the inspiring history of the Marathas. Year after year he composed new *Kīrtanas* and presented them (thrice every year), in the right traditional manner to large and thrilled audiences at Aundh.

The late Rajasaheb was also the foremost protagonist of the movement for popularising the cult of *Sūryanamaskāra*, which he regarded as the easiest and the most efficacious instrument of physical culture. He claimed that this cult, which he and all the members of his family assiduously followed, combined in itself both *svārtha* and *paramārtha*. For, while helping the body to develop on proper lines, the *Sūryanamaskāras*, on account of their intrinsic religious value, also contributed towards the ennobling of the spirit. Indeed Balasaheb had made the propagation of this cult almost his life's mission. Whenever an opportunity came in his way, he—and sometimes also his devoted consort—exhibited by means of actual demonstration or of film shows, the great advantages accruing from the *Sūryanamaskāra*.

It must also be pointed out that Shrimant Balasaheb was the first Raja to introduce full responsible government in his State. He further believed that the economic uplift of India depended mainly on rapid industrialisation. In his own way, therefore, he encouraged such industrialisation. The present huge industrial establishments of Kirloskars and Ogales owe not a little to the foresight and active interest of the late Rajasaheb. But he did not neglect agriculture and cottage industries. He was a staunch advocate of *Swadeshi*—indeed to such an extent that he insisted that the food and clothing which he used should be produced in his own state. Spread of education among his people and reforms in educational methods may be said to have been almost his ruling passion. The progress achieved by the Aundh state in this respect was perhaps far in advance of any province in British India. It was the Rajasaheb's great good fortune that, in all his reform measures—political, economic and educational—he was ably supported by

his gifted son, Appasaheb (who is now the Indian High-Commissioner in British East Africa).

When, therefore, Shrimant Rajasaheb passed away at Bombay on the 13th April, 1951, at the ripe old age of 84, it was no wonder that all people, who knew him, sincerely mourned the loss of an enlightened and progressive ruler, a patron of many literary and cultural movements, and, above all, a patriotic Indian. But the grief of his own subjects in Aundh can only be imagined, for, of him it can be most appropriately said:

स पिता, पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ।

R. N. D.

P. S. VISVANATHA AIYAR, M.A., I.C.S.

10-1-1906]

[21-11-1951

The demise of Sri P. S. Visvanatha Aiyar of the Indian Civil Service in the terrible air-crash near Calcutta on 21-11-51 is a loss to the Government of Madras as well as to the world of scholarship. Sri Visvanatha Aiyar was young, enthusiastic and full of promise of distinguished service in many departments of administrative and cultural activity. He was at the time of his tragic, untimely death Director of Controlled Commodities in the Government of Madras. He was a Life-Member of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, and was actively connected with cultural institutions in the city like the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy and the Madras Music Academy.

Born in a family devoted to Vedic lore, Sri Visvanathan graduated from the Presidency College with a distinguished Honours Degree in English Language and Literature, and after a brief period of service as Lecturer in English at Noble College, Masulipatam, he passed the I.C.S. examination and joined the Civil Service in 1931. He served as Sub-Collector, District Judge and Secretary to Government in Education and other Departments in Madras. The *steel frame* was *silken* in his case, and among members of that Service, he was exceptionally uniform, simple, friendly and helpful in his conduct. He possessed remarkable integrity of character. His scholarly or administrative qualities are only part of his versatile attainments; he was a keen sportsman in hockey and a champion

in table tennis, and had only recently toured England and Europe as leader of the Indian team in the latter game.

Oriental Colleges cannot forget his helpfulness when he was Secretary to the Education Department. He was, by equipment and inclinations, made for education and arts and work in the cultural sphere. He was very good in Sanskrit, and able to express himself very well both in prose and verse in that language. He had a linguistic bent and while in service in Orissa mastered the local language and tribal dialects. During one of my leisurely visits to him before his last European tour I found him wrestling with Avestan grammar. He was proficient in the theory of Carnatic music and understood well the technique of Bharata Natya. During his recent visit to England he spoke at the London School of Oriental Studies on certain aspects of Vedic recitation, and was just thinking why he should not change over to the professorial line and devote himself wholesale to research.

V. R.

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

9-7-1890]

[29-8-1951

In the demise of Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, the world of Indian scholarship has lost a senior historian who was an authority on the modern British Period. To all appearances the late Professor was hale and healthy, and quite active, having returned on the eve of his sudden death from a visit to Mysore where he was to accept a Professorship of History. His passing away was thus sudden and unfortunate.

The late Professor was born at Chidambaram on July 9, 1890. He graduated from the Madras Pachayappa's College with a I class in History and Economics and took the M.A. Degree in 1912 with his Thesis on the History of Gingee, which was later rendered into French. He then served the Pachayappa's College as Professor of History for about twenty-one years, coming in the wake of his own uncle there, Prof. K. Ramanujachariar, and then as Head of the History Department for about fifteen years at the Annamalai University. After retirement he was successively Principal of two new Colleges at Sivaganga and Kanchipuram.

The late Professor met with recognition and honour from all quarters. The then Government made him successively

Rao Sahib, Rao Bahadur and Dewan Bahadur. In the scholarly field, he presided over the 1941 Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress, and before that he had presided over the Sections in that Congress as well as the History Section of the Oriental Conference (1940). He was an Honorary Member of the French Historical Society, Member of the Historical Records Commission and Convener of the Regional Survey Committee of that Commission. He had been invited for special lectures in other Universities and at the Madras University, he had successively lectured under all the foundations in history, leading upto the Sir William Meyer Lectures. He was editorially connected for long with the Journal of Indian History and the Educational Review.

Among his more important writings are: Indian Culture in Funan and Cambodia (JOR, Madras); History of India (in 3 Vols. in collaboration with Prof. S. Ramaswamy Iyengar); Further Light on the Pañcamahāśabda (AIOC VII); Pre-Dravidian, Proto-Dravidian and Pro-Dravidian (JBORS, Patna, XXIV); History of the City of Madras; Anandaranga Pillai, the Pepys of French India; the Inwardness of British annexations in India (Sir William Meyer Lectures); Selections from Orme Mss.; An Advanced History of India—British Period; Tamil Letters from the National Archives; and Ft. William-India House Correspondence, Vol. IV; (the last four being under print).

V. R.

BOOK REVIEWS

ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES PRESENTED TO L. D. BARNETT (Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. XII, Pts. 3—4) 1948.

Lionel David Barnett was born in 1871 and had started his literary work in his teens. He was a classical scholar before he became the distinguished Orientalist that he is now, and quite a good number of works pertaining to Greek and Roman history and literature stand to his credit. In Indology he has indeed been a versatile scholar, covering literature and philosophy, philology and epigraphy, and exposition, editing and cataloguing, all with facility and excellence. There is no end to the number of critical notices of works of research which he has written. He was for long Keeper of the Oriental Section of the British Museum, Sanskrit Professor at the London University and Professor of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, London School of Oriental Studies, Librarian and Editor of the Bulletin at the latter institution, and having retired, still continues to work in his old library at the British Museum. It is but fitting that his friends and colleagues dedicated a special issue of the Bulletin of the L.S.O.A.S. in his honour.

The Volume gives a bibliography of Barnett's writings. Besides Indology, we find in this Volume contributions on Turkish, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Sogdian, Burmese, Malay, Fijian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese language, literature, religion, philosophy and history.

Among the Indological papers are the following: H. W. Bailey's edition and translation of a Kotanese ms. from the Stein collection, containing two letters. An introductory note and translation by V. Minorsky of the portion in Gardīzi's *Zayn al-akhbār* dealing with India; Gardīzi's chapter on India is based on the lost work of Abū 'Aldallāh Jayhānī, who himself drew upon the text of Ibn Khurdā dhbih, at the bottom of all which is the information brought from India by the agent sent by Barmakid Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd (c. 800) to collect Indian medicinal plants and knowledge about Indian religions; accordingly the account of Gardīzi concerns itself with Indian social organisation, accomplishments, religions, sects and

literature. R. L. Turner's *Indo-Arica II* where he shows the survival of Indo-Aryan **prabda*=Av *frabda* in Panjabi *pabb*. m. meaning 'forepart of the foot'. Sanskrit *Rajas* by T. Burrow, which discusses the semantic relations of that word and suggests the root *lag* as the possible source of *raj* to explain all the meanings of the word. W. Stede's *Self and its Complications*, which analyses certain issues of spiritual endeavour and salvation in Hinduism and Buddhism; making this analysis on the basis of certain key-words, *Ātman*, *Karman*, etc., the writer observes here: "We must never forget that those figures which go under the names of *Indra*, *Varuṇa*, *Brahmā*, are not figures of speech, but real embodiments of living forces moving on the divine stage of the world's drama. We who live in an age of crippled imagination see these personages under a coating of scientific white-wash and think of them as abstractions devoid of life. To the Hindu and the Buddhist, however, they are not fictions, but live and have their being with and among the people in whom they are interested. Our historical understanding is one-sided, and in our investigations we are too prone to look at the co-existent as consecutive and to judge that which is independent as dependent, the inter-related as casually related, and facts as results rather than as symptoms. Life and nature are multi-principled, and logical opposites need not be opposites in reality." Alfred Master, who has an extensive study on *Paśācī* in *JRAS*, 1943, edits here and explains a *Paśācī* passage figuring in the *Kuvalayamālā*. John Brough edits a text bearing on Nepalese Buddhist ritual, found in the Hodgson mss. in the India Office. Hindu law rarely figures much in research and it is interesting to find here a paper by S. G. Vesey-Fitz-Gerald on the Cognate Collaterals' Succession according to *Mitākṣara* and *Dâyabhāga*, wherein ideas "which have a curiously up-to-date appearance are sometimes found". A. L. Basham suggests that the *Nagnāṭas* at whose instance or through whom King *Harṣa* of Kashmir (1089-1101) carried out his iconoclastic depredations according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* were some heretical sects like *Ājīvikas* of Dravidian South, as against the *Turuṣka* or Islamic suggestion of Stein, but there is no evidence of such a sect in the South and its activity in Kashmir at this time. Like *Dara Shikoh*, *Akbar* too was greatly attached to the *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha* of which he had a translation made; a copy of this translation belonging to the

Imperial Library, dated December 1602 and bearing also the signature of Shah Jehan on the first page, and now in the Chester Beatty Collection is a treasure from the point of view of Indian art, because it carries a number of fine miniature paintings of the court painters; J. V. S. Wilkinson reproduces here, along with a note, eight illustrations from this illuminated manuscript.

V. RAGHAVAN

NEW PERIODICALS.

Recently a good number of Journals devoted to detailed research in Indian subjects as well as to the elucidation of cultural matters of the East in a more general and popular manner have been started, both in India and abroad. The ventures are to be welcomed, indicating as they do the resumption of cultural activities after the war and the severities of the immediate post-war years.

I

MEDIAEVAL INDIA QUARTERLY is being published by the Department of History of the Aligarh Muslim University and is devoted to a special study of the mediaeval period of Indian history. The inaugural number which appeared in July 1950 opens with an article by the late lamented Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari on the events leading to Nasir Jung's death studied afresh; but the article takes no note of the material in the Sanskrit Campū on Ānandarāṅga Pillai of Pondicherry. Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi of Aligarh University deals with the Mahdavi movement in India; Mahdavis are the so-called 'deliverers' who come to a front in times of political and economical difficulties and the paper deals, at length, about one of the Mahdis who chose to work only in the spiritual field, Syed Muhammad of Jaunpur. Dr. Riazul Islam has made an elaborate study of the age of Firoz Shah when cultural activities were particularly prominent and significant; Maulana Abdul Aziz Dehlvi "translated a Sanskrit work dealing with eclipses". "Another Sanskrit work, found in the Jwalamukhi temple at Nagarkot dealing with natural sciences was translated into verse by Azzudin Khalid Khani and was named Dalil-i-Firoz Shahi. The same person translated another book on music". "There were a number of Muslim scholars of Sanskrit language". Prof. M. L. Roy Chowdhury Sastri of Calcutta University writes about the Indian Somaniya cult prevalent

in Muslim lands and the importance of the Navavihāra (Buddhist?) temple in Balkh and its part in the importing of Indian culture and sciences to Abbasid Caliphate. It appears to us that the Somanīya cult mentioned by Alberuni as current in Somnath is to be identified properly as the Somasiddhānta, one of the Śaiva sects. Among other contributions on the Muhammadan period are a study and edition by Messrs. Hasan Ali Khan, S. A. Rashid and Dr. Tripathi, Vice-Chancellor of the Saugor University, of the Tawarikh-E-Daulat-E-Sher Shahi, a fragment of which was discovered by Prof. Rushbrook Williams in Bhopal.

The Second Number of the Journal (Oct., 1950) carries articles, communications and editions of source-materials. Prof. Mohammad Habid's paper treats of the Indian Islamic mystics, their classes and the Chisti group and the political contacts of some members of this last group. A similar article is contributed by Mr. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami on the political pre-occupations in which were involved some members of the mystic saints of the Shattari class whose faith however enjoined the cultivation in renunciation, contentment and seclusion, of the cult of love and rapture. Dr. Salatore draws attention to the acts of patronage to Hindu Dharma standing to the credit of Tipu Sultan.

II

THE JOURNAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GAUhati. The young Gauhati University is peculiarly fortunate in having a scholar of the type of Prof. K. K. Handiqui as Vice-Chancellor. Prof. Handiqui, Professor of Sanskrit and a scholar in Modern History, Classical Philology, French and Italian, is also one of the educational benefactors of Assam, having donated Rs. 11,000 for the cause of Science in that University.

The Gauhati University Journal, published under his aegis is for the present an Annual, but it is hoped that it will soon appear twice at least a year, or separately for Arts and Sciences.

The two numbers now issued contain a good amount of useful material. B. Kakati collects the stories of the Fish and Tortoise Deities; the references here to Minākṣī of Madura are not correct. B. K. Barua has a paper on Sorcery in Assam, with which the Tantric cult and literature are also connected.

Maheswar Neog's article on the Bhakti cycle of Assamese Lyrics: *Bargits and After*, is valuable for the study of both the devotional movements and history of music. Of similar interest is S. N. Sarma's contribution on Assamese commentaries and versions of the *Gītagovinda*. Education and teaching as reflected by that classic of early popular Sanskrit education, the *Hitopadeśa*, is analysed in detail by D. C. Das Gupta. In his short note on the background of Buddhism, Nalinaksha Dutt rightly emphasises the Upaniṣadic links. D. C. Sircar draws attention to an epigraph of A. D. 592 for an early instance of writing fractions.

The Second Number opens with the addresses at the first Convocation of the Gauhati University by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Governor of Assam, H. E. Jayaramdas Daulatram, and the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Handique. A mass of data has been gathered by Kakati in his effort to understand the moon-myth basis of the Rāsa dance and the probable antecedents of Rādhā. Under the title "Maṅgala Lyric", Sukumar Sen makes a dramatic analysis of the *Gītagovinda*; while it is certainly useful to make a collection of *Gītagovinda* Mss. and find out the extent of interpolation in the verses, it is clear that many of them are genuine and are a necessary part of the framework of Jayadeva's composition. P. K. Gode continues his study of the history of Tāmbūla, this time taking note of some beliefs relating to the ingredients. S. N. Sarma's long survey of the Satra institution of Assam is important for the study of the devotional movement, and of the Bhajan and San-kirtan tradition. M. Neog expatiates on the social and political implications of two Assamese ballads. D. C. Das Gupta follows up his study of ancient Indian education by an analysis here of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtras*. There are also briefer contributions on Universal religion, Tragedy, etc.

It will be seen that the Journal is the medium of a vast amount of research pertaining to one of the provinces of India which is particularly rich in religious, linguistic, and anthropological material.

III

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, Maharaja Sayaji Rao University of Baroda, Baroda. Edited by G. H. Bhatt, Ag. Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Annual Subs. Rs. 15.

In the history of Oriental research in the last three and a half decades, the Gaekwad Oriental Series has rendered outstanding service. Its publications, numbering 115 now, have been marked not only for excellent print but also for intrinsic value and critical editorial work. Prof. G. H. Bhatt, the senior-most local Sanskritist, who has succeeded to the Directorship after Dr. B. Bhattacharya, brings an immense enthusiasm to the work, and his office has coincided with the new organisational set-up under the new University named after the great Ruler, Sayaji Rao, to whose personal zeal for promoting Indian cultural studies, the Oriental Institute itself owes its origin and sustained work. Prof. Bhatt has also announced for the future continuous work of the Institute the project of a critical Rāmāyaṇa edition, following the example of the Bhandarkar Institute. The second venture of Prof. Bhatt is the present Journal of the Institute, which made its appearance in September 1951. The Journal is printed very well and in excellent paper.

The first issue of the Journal, though comparatively slender in size, carries a large number of contributions, which cover a wide field. Besides a few touching the Rāmāyaṇa, there is also, at the end, an edition of a minor anonymous work called Tāmbū'amañjarī on the medicinal value of the Betel-leaf, and reviews, resume of contents of other Oriental journals, etc.

Prof. H. R. Kapadia cites from Jain literature three instances of the vain display of scholarly attainments on the part of scholars; many such can be cited from South Indian literary history. Canvassing the question whether Śrīkṛṣṇa's family was Solar or Lunar, Prof. D. R. Mankad points out the untenability of the theory of the foreign origin of the Yādavas and offers a reasonable explanation of the name 'Hari-varṁśa' given to Kṛṣṇa's line. Corresponding to the Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas in Brahminical epics and purāṇas, Buddhistic works too speak of the thirty-two marks or 'Narendra-cihnas' on the Buddha's body; Dr. V. S. Agrawala notes these from one of the texts recently edited by the late Johnston, Ratnagotravibhāga. Dr. G. V. Devasthali's detailed study of Mīmāṃsā and Sābarabhāṣya is represented here by a brief notice of Śaṅkara's indebtedness to Mīmāṃsā. Mm. Mirashi presents new epigraphical evidence and shows Dantidurga as the founder of Rāṣṭrakūṭa imperial power. Prof. Gode's paper in

this Journal continues his study of the plant *Aśvabalā*, on which he wrote in the *Bharatiya Vidya*; Sri B. C. Deb of Calcutta also continues the same study. Dr. H. Goetz reproduces some of the early sculptural representations of Kṛṣṇa's sports and discusses the antiquity and history of these legends. Mr. P. C. Diwanji's article on questions of Textual Criticism and Dr. Subba Rao's social gleanings relating to the age of Kālidāsa based on the *Mālavikāgnimitra* remain to be concluded. *Jīvantasvāmin* referred to in early Jain literature is very scarce in iconography or sculpture; Sri W. P. Shah reproduces and describes a unique image of this pre-renunciation form of Mahāvīra. Dr. M. R. Majumdar writes about infiltration of Persian words in Indian languages. Sri M. R. Nambiar notices a ms., Rāghava's *Kārikās* on *Kāraka* called *Vibhaktyarīhaprādīpikā*. *Jñānagītā* of Naraharidāsa, a Vedāntic poet of Gujarat, is an unpublished work and Sri Y. J. Tripathi of the Institute has a note on its ms. in the Library.

Originally it was believed that this Journal was to be started exclusively for the study and elucidation of Rāmāyaṇa problems; this was perhaps not possible; however, the issue carries a good number of contributions relating to the Rāmāyaṇa and the opening of the new Rāmāyaṇa Department in the Institute. Mm. P. V. Kane considers the well-known question of Rāma's horoscope, particularly in relation to the events in Rāma's life; Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya studies *Yamaka-lāṅkāra* in the *Ādikāvya*; Rev. C. Bulcke traces the evolution of the details of the episode of the repudiation of *Sītā*; and Dr. B. J. Sandesara describes a 13th century hymn on Rāma by *Someśvara*.

IV

VOX ORIENTIS. Edited and published by Dr. Asghar Azizi, 31, Sieveringer Strasse, Vienna 19, Austria.

World War II has seen the dawn of a new age of freedom and progress in the whole of the Oriental world. The Orient, as the Editor aptly describes it in his explanatory note in this new Journal, is the "Gate to Wisdom" and it is the aim of this Journal to give to the Occident interpretations of the different countries of the Orient by the nationals of those countries themselves; "thus they will eliminate misunderstandings created by incompetent people". The Journal is multilingual and in the first two Numbers received by us, the

following contributions may interest our readers: Indian Music Today by Dr. V. K. Narayana Menon; obituaries and appreciations relating to Sri Aurobindo and Gandhi; Ancient and Modern Iranian Music in relation to Popular Tradition by Dr. Mehdi Barkechli of the Teheran University; Cultural Renaissance in New India by Humayun Kabir; and the Indonesian Language. The journal is intended for popular reading and devoted to presentation of both cultural and economical aspects of the life of the people of the Orient.

V

ASIA. Edited by Rene de Berval. (Jt. Editor: Jivan Bharakar). P. B. 79, Saigon, Viet-Nam.

Rene de Berval of Saigon has already placed on firm footing his French Journal *France-Asie* and has now come forward with his new venture in English, the *Asia*, a cultural quarterly Review. The aim of the *Asia* is best described in the words of the Editor himself:

"ASIA is a cultural, non-political journal which takes no stand on the political policies of the various Far-Eastern countries. Published quarterly ASIA is a non-official review whose sole aim is to acquaint the component parts of the Far-Eastern world with their own cultural and philosophical problems.

"It need hardly be said that there is no excuse today for anyone to remain unaware of the vast legacy of Asia to the common cultural and spiritual heritage of the world, and to ignore the immense developments that are today so rapidly transforming the East. To describe these achievements and to interpret these developments in the wider sphere of our own day and age will be the constant endeavour of the editorial board of ASIA.

"Beginning from April 1951, ASIA will endeavour, by means of editorials, essays, articles and notes, both critical and documentary, to present to the world a symposium of Eastern art, religion, philosophy and thought, without flourish and without condescension. Representative authors from every country and authorities on every aspect of Asian studies are being asked to contribute articles to ASIA, and it is hoped to present in each issue outstanding features of Asian life, past and present."

The inaugural Number opens appropriately with Lin Yutang's 'Gandhism as I understand it'. Georges Lebrun has a study on the beliefs and religions in Vietnam, and Dr. J. A. Martinie on Chinese Buddhism. In the second Issue Rene Grousset of the Academie Francaise writes about what history teaches about mankind and Ram Linssen about Buddhism and modern science, but taking his stand on Indian Vedānta in general and not on any particular school as such. Dr. Pierre Huard has started an elaborate account of Teeth-blackening in Eastern Asia and Indo-China and B. D. Aimey of the Moon in Vietnamese literature. About 50 pages are devoted to a homage to Sri Aurobindo, in which tributes and expositions figure. Every Number carries also articles on the history and culture of Viet-Nam, as also a classified review of cultural activities in the different countries of Asia, and notices of publications.

The Editor's wide cultural interests have a real philosophical foundation, and it is hoped that his efforts in the task of "a revaluation of sentiment and of language" in our own iron age of material dialectic will bear fruits.

VI

EAST AND WEST. Istituto Italiano Per il Medio ed Estremo Orient. Director Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. Rome.

The veteran Orientalist Dr. Giuseppe Tucci needs no introduction to the Indian scholarly world. Under his direction has begun to function in Rome the Italian Institute of Middle and Far East, where nearly a hundred students study oriental languages and literatures. The Institute has started also the present quarterly Review for the greater understanding of the two parts of the world, the Occident and the Orient and the building up jointly of the peace and happiness of humanity. In a brief but thoughtful Foreword, Tucci says, "Malignant barriers of misunderstanding, built by men, have divided the world...Little consideration is.....given to those conquests of an everlasting nature which all peoples in ail times have made.....We believe that all persons having at heart the destiny of the world must, in a certain way, compensate the destructions caused by contrasting interests and politics, badly understood or wrongly put in practice. The people must stretch a friendly hand to their fellow creatures, they must find a meeting ground of understanding because the road leading to love has one starting point: mutual understanding. It is

with this end in view that we have begun editing the Review 'East and West'".

The First Number of this valuable periodical opens with an appropriate summary of Orientalist activity in Italy in the last ten years, mentioning with deserved emphasis the work of Dr. Tucci in the field of Tibet and Buddhism. Mario Bussagli gives a brief account of the archaeological aspect of Asiatic contacts with Italy, drawing attention to the Sanskrit and Tamil words in Latin and the Indian statue found in Pompei excavations. More significant is J. Evola's contribution on what Tantricism means to modern western civilization.

The Second Issue opens with a sketch of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa by Tucci. Madanjat explains how Indian art forms and those of European Renaissance are one in content though different in form. It is sad to read here of one of our major losses during the war-time in the demise of the distinguished Italian Orientalist, Carlo Formichi; from his papers, a hitherto unpublished brief survey of Indo-Italian cultural relations during the middle ages and the renaissance is here published together with a biographical note on the late *savant*.

In the Third Issue, Martino Mario Moreno writes on Religion and Beauty in the Eastern and Western middle ages. There is an account of Vivekananda by Massimo Scaligero.

In Vol. I, Pt. 4, there are two articles on Indian art, one by Mario Bussagli on aspects of the ancient art of India and the Mediterranean and the other on the dominance of the Circle-idea in Indian art.

The Second Volume opens with a tribute to Sri Arabindo. Writing on the liberating influences of the traditional east, J. Evola stresses the value of the traditional East and traditional West as it was before secularisation and rationalism set in, and warns the East against the present tendency of 'rushing at a disconcerting pace towards a stormy and chaotic period', and calls upon it 'to resist spiritually and hold its ground.' The issue carries also Tucci's review of a number of Indo-logical publications.

Vol. II, No. 2, carries among others an article on Rome and Eastern Asia by Luciano Petech, one on Gothic Forms of ancient Oriental art by Mario Bussagli and Tucci's notes on

some of the latest Indological works. All the contributions are brief and suitably illustrated.

V. RAGHAVAN.

SIDDHA-BHARATI OR THE ROSARY OF INDOLOGY. Ed. Vishva Bandhu. Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1950. In two parts, pp. xxx+266, 345. Rs. 60.

Honouring scholars has a hoary tradition in India. Kings, learned in themselves and presiding over an assembly of scholars, accorded due patronage and bestowed rewards and distinctions on outstanding scholars of the realm. In the modern world this function has been taken over by the Universities and other learned bodies. The practice was also not unknown in ancient India of fellow-workers in the field expressing their approbation of distinguished services by a presentation of a collection of their contributions. Kavindra-candrodaya is such a collection of adulatory verses by scholars and admirers presented to the famous Sarvavidyānidhāna Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī who had the religious tax *jeziya* rescinded by the Mughal emperor Shah Jehan; Nṛsimhasarvasva is another such collection presented to the great Vedāntin of Banaras Nṛsimhāśrama Yati. The modern corollary to this age-old tradition is the Commemoration Volume with which the friends, colleagues and admirers of a distinguished scholar honour him for the meritorious services rendered by him in the field of learning. The book under review is such a volume presented to one of the leading Sanskrit scholars and linguisticians of modern India, Dr. Siddheswar Varma of Lahore, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in November 1947.

This volume contains 108 contributions from Indian and foreign scholars on a wide variety of topics, and has been issued in two parts, the first comprising Philological studies, Vedic and Avestic studies, and Other Literary studies; and the second, studies in Philosophy and Religion, studies in Literary History, studies in General History and Miscellaneous studies. It would be too long an enumeration to make even a mere mention of the titles of the more important papers, many of which are interesting and break new ground in the subjects dealt with.

The careful editing of the varied material comprising the volume deserves special commendation. Every article has been critically read, and every textual citation or reference

thoroughly checked and verified. Entire uniformity has been adopted in the matter of abbreviations instead of leaving it to the idiosyncrasies of each individual author. A variety of types have been used to mark off distinct categories of material, and scriptorial uniformity has been maintained in quotations. Papers have been classified and arranged, and not printed without any order or merely in alphabetical sequence. Above all, a general index has been prepared and given at the end, which would prove of much help in using the volume.

There is given at the beginning of the first part, an account of Dr. Varma and his writings; but the account is all too brief; one would naturally wish to learn in greater detail the Doctor's life and his varied literary activities. The get-up and printing leave little to be desired and justify the high price of the book.

P. V. SARMA.

ULLOOR COMMEMORATION VOLUME. Research Association, Oriental Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, 1951, pp. xij, 194. Rs. 3.

Mahākavi Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar (1877-1949) was the doyen of Malayalam studies for the last three decades or more. His contributions to that literature, especially in the fields of poetry, prose and literary research have been outstanding. The author of a Mahākāvya, 17 khaṇḍa-kāvyaś and numerous lyrical pieces, more than ten prose works and numerous articles of literary, cultural and historical importance in Malayalam and English, and the editor of about a hundred ancient Kerala works, big and small, in Sanskrit and Malayalam, Ulloor has been the dominating figure and most prolific writer of Kerala during our century. His *magnum opus* is a comprehensive history of Kerala literature in seven volumes, undertaken for publication by the Travancore University, a synopsis of which is in the present volume. It is most proper, therefore, that the Research Association of the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the Travancore University with which the late Mahākavi was connected, undertook to pay their homage to the memory of this scholar in the form of the sheaf of commemorative essays reviewed here.

The volume contains about fifty articles, half of which are reminiscences of the poet, and his life and writings:

The reminiscences by Malloor, Putheshathu Raman Menon and P. Sankaran Nampyar are specially interesting and reveal some of the noble traits of Ulloor's literary life. The close and intimate relationship that existed between Ulloor and his royal patron, Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Tampuran as dealt with by M. R. Balakrishna Warriar is enlightening. Two posthumous articles by Ulloor find a place in this volume, one an excerpt from his History on the 'young bard' of Kerala, Changampuzha, who passed away at an early age, and the other on the late veteran Sahityapanchananan P. K. Narayana Pillai. A short bibliography of the writings of Ulloor is also given at the end of the volume.

Other articles here are on diverse subjects, literary criticism and research, archaeology, Indian culture, social problems, etc., of which special mention may be made of the "Origin of metres" by Kuttikrishna Marar, "Date and authorship of Rāmāyaṇam Kathakali" by Dr. K. Goda Varma, "Alexander Pope" by Kainikkara Kumara Pillai, and "Nalabāhukam", investigating a new approach to the problem of the identity of the popular Malayalam poet Kuñcan Nampyār with Rāmapāṇivāda, author of the mahākāvya Rāghavīya and other works in Sanskrit, by K. R. Krishna Pillai.

The volume is satisfactorily got up and contains four half-tone blocks of the poet. A correlation of the Contents page and the articles in the volume, and the printing of the title of the respective article and its author on the tops of pages uniformly would have much facilitated the use of the volume. The Research Association deserves the gratefulness of the Malayalam-reading public for compiling and publishing this volume perpetuating the memory of Ulloor, the great scholar of Kerala.

K. V. SARMA

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE. By Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.LITT. Madras, University of Madras, 1951, pp. ii, 224. Rs. 8.

The University of Madras has just published this thesis which won the Sankara-Parvathi Prize in 1941 and the author Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Reader in Indian History and Archaeology at the University points out in his Preface that "the book is calculated to serve as a supplement" to his study of

Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar which was issued by the University in 1940. This attempt to present the main currents of economic life in the Vijayanagar Empire is quite welcome because while our knowledge of the political history of our land has grown fuller and more definite in recent times our understanding of life and labour in the past has remained meagre and sketchy in the extreme. The economic history of a realm stretching over the greater part of South India and covering a period of more than three hundred and thirty years is not easy to write. The bibliography and the footnotes show conclusively that Dr. Mahalingam has made full use of all the available material and in his six chapters and eighteen sections he has set forth in orderly array the facts that are certain and the conclusions that are most probable. The economic historian of our country or any large part of it in the pre-British period is greatly handicapped by lack of data as well as by absence of specialised monographs dealing with small regions, short periods, or particular varieties of economic activity. The short or long chapters devoted to economic matters in our political histories suffer from and reflect these handicaps. Dr. Mahalingam must be congratulated for having overcome the difficulties to a considerable extent and presented the outcome of his patient researches in a separate work covering the economic organization of the Empire in the fields of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Taxation and Social Welfare.

The most interesting chapter in the book is the second which treats of Agriculture and Land Tenures and the author has collected in it information which whets the appetite far more, especially in regard to tenures by service and about the exoduses from overtaxed villages, as well as the means and method of resettlement and rehabilitation following such migrations. This chapter is based mostly on inscriptions and demonstrates the superior value of its source by being more realistic and absorbing than, for instance, the chapter on Trade and Commerce which is derived from the accounts of foreign travellers.

The economic history again proves how permanent has been the pattern of existence in India. During the three centuries it surveys there is no perceptible change to record. Kings and nobles, courtiers and traders, peasants and artisans seem to have gone through their allotted spans without depart-

ing from custom or tradition. This chronic immobility which is the outstanding characteristic of our country must be studied with care by all our social historians. What was it that secured this perpetual social harmony and unfailing individual acquiescence over the ages and prevented social and economic change or revolution? Dr. Mahalingam notes and deplores (p. ii, p. 198) the great disparity between the rich and the poor and the exploitation of the one by the other. Yet our economic history should have been very different if our people had at any time been conscious of economic class as the people of the West have been intermittently in the past and now continuously for over a century. We therefore require new frames of reference, a philosophy of history more appropriate to our land, and a vaster store of classified fact to gain a definitive understanding of our socio-economic past. Dr. Mahalingam's excellent book may be expected to stimulate interest in all these directions and help to start the flow of regional studies which are the prolegomena to an economic history of South India.

R. BHASKARAN

PARYAYARATNAMALA of Mādhavākara and PARYAYAMUKTAVALI of Haricarapadāsa. Edited by Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, Patna. Pp. x+142, 1946; and iv+136, 1947.

Both the above works are standard medical lexicons and the thanks of students of Ayurveda and Lexicography are due to Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury for bringing out handy and correct editions of these works. The Paryāyaratnamālā by Mādhavakara (7th-8th cent.) whose Rugviniścaya, better known as Mādhavanidāna, is a very popular treatise on the subject, is a synonymous nighaṇṭu, with a section on homonyms and another on measures (māna) and technical terms (paribhāṣā). In all, the work treats about 6,200 words. This work is of high authority being the oldest extant medical lexicon save for the Dhanvantariya-nighaṇṭu. The manuscripts give at the end of each verse or half-verse, as the case may be, the Bengali equivalent of the term treated, and that is given in the present edition also.

The Paryāyamuktāvalī of Haricarapadāsa, a native of Bengal, is also a synonymous lexicon, based on the above work, from which it takes many lines with little alteration; but it has re-arranged the matter in a number of homogeneous sections

and added much matter from other sources. In the last two sections it borrows freely from the *Amarakośa*. The work confines itself to *materia medica* and treats about 5,000 words. In this work also Bengali meanings of Sanskrit words are given by the side of the verses.

Both the works have been carefully edited from ample manuscript material; variants are noted and emendations, wherever supplied, are given within brackets. Informative introductions are prefixed to both the editions and the exhaustive glossary of medical terms and *materia medica* given at the end greatly facilitate the use of these lexical works. Textual notes are also given for the former work.

K. V. SARMA

KHANDAGIRI-UDAYAGIRI CAVES. By T. N. Ramachandran and Chotalal Jain. Published by Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Digambara Jain Tirtha Kshetra Committee, Calcutta; 1951.

The Khandagiri-Udayagiri Caves in Kalinga are of great importance in the history of Jainism. They date from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. and number as many as sixty-five. The Hāthī Gumphā cave and its inscription of king Khāravela (2nd cent. B.C.) are well-known. Some of the other important caves here are the Rāṇī Gumphā (2nd cent. B.C.), the Mañchapuri caves and the Gaṇeś Gumphā (1st cent. B.C.). These contain sculptures and inscriptions of historical and religious value.

Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, who has long specialised in Jain art and archaeology has here, in collaboration with Sri Chotalal Jain, produced an attractive brochure on these caves, carrying six plates, and printed on excellent art-paper. The descriptive part cites the inscriptions, identifies the sculptures and discusses their historical significance. The Magadha-Kalinga relation is clarified on the basis of the Khāravela epigraph. It is said on p. 9 that the Rāṇī Gumphā has a representation of the royal hunt of a deer which recalls the opening scene of the *Śākuntala*; this, not reproduced in the brochure, deserves further examination and elucidation, especially because this whole series is said to contain a rich pageant.

V. RAGHAVAN

PURVAMIMAMSASUTRAVṚTTI—BHAVABODHINĪ. By H. H. Vidyāśaṅkara Bhāratī Svāmi, Karavīr Mutt, Kolhapur. Published by the Mutt, 1951. pp. 3, 19, 50, 794. Rs. 10.

Important among the later independent expositions of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini are Pārthasārathi Miśra's Śāstradīpikā, Mādhava's Nyāyamālā, Khaṇḍadeva's Bhāṭṭadīpikā in the Bhāṭṭa school, and Bhavanātha's Nayavivēka and other works in the Prābhākara school. When the Sūtras themselves came to be neglected, to revive the study of the Sūtras direct vṛttis came to be written on the Sūtras by later Mīmāṃsakas. Rāmeśvarasūri wrote a Vṛtti called Subodhinī; Khaṇḍadeva wrote the Mimāṃsā-Kāustubha, which however, ends with the 3rd pāda of chapter III. We have a few more such direct commentaries. It is gratifying to note that His Holiness the Śaṅkarācārya of Karavīr Pīṭh has written a new commentary on the Jaiminisūtras, which will be welcomed by all scholars interested in Mimāṃsā.

In explaining the Sūtras the author has mostly followed the Subodhinī of Rāmeśvarasūri. As pointed out in the Introduction, each adhikaraṇa (section) has the component parts subject matter (viśaya), doubt (saṁśaya), prima facie view (pūrvapakṣa), final view (siddhānta) and relevancy (saṅgati). It would be easy for a beginner to grasp the purport of each adhikaraṇa if all these are given in detail; but the commentator has preferred to omit the saṁśaya throughout and pūrvapakṣa in sections where there are no specific sūtras for that. It is his opinion that they can be made out by the careful reader. In interpreting the Sūtras the author has differed in some places from Śabarasvāmin and Rāmeśvarasūri. E.g. (p.1, sūtra 2) अर्थः स्वर्गादीष्टं as against अर्थः इष्टसाधनं in the Bhāṣya and Subodhinī; (p. 36, sūtra 5) आरम्भः अपूर्वे, यतः चोदना as against चोदना अपूर्वे, यतः आरम्भः in the Bhāṣya. The gender of words in some places is misleading. Eg. (p. 153) पूतिक्रायाः. Here the author uses feminine for pūtikā while it is used in the masculine elsewhere; vide पूतिकानभिषुण्यात् (Vedic citation in Mīmāṃsā), पूतिकः कलिमारकः (Amara). तत्साधनो यः (तस्य साधनः तत्साधनः) (p.1, sūtra 2): here the word sādhanā is used in the masculine.

The work carries also a good Sanskrit Introduction by Prof. Huparikar wherein we find a short summary of the

whole Sāstra. The following points here call for some, comment:

1. It would be better to say कर्मापरपर्यायः धर्म एवाभ्युदयोपायत्वेन गणितः than मोक्षोपायत्वेन as the author follows the path of Śrī Śaṅkara.

2. p. 2, line 8, निर्णयश्चेति पञ्चाङ्गं should be सङ्गतिश्चेति पञ्चाङ्गं as Nirṇaya has been stated by the word उत्तरम् ।

3. p. 3, line 9, प्रमाणत्रयं संयोजयति should be पदार्थत्रयं etc., as Śakti etc. are only padārthas.

4. p. 5, line 16, भावनाजनकं and p. 8 line 14, भावनाजनकं should be भावनावोधकम् ।

5. p. 6, line 10, अभिहितान्वयवादिनो नैयायिकाः should be अभिहितान्वयवादिनो मीमांसकाः as the Naiyāyikas do not follow the doctrine of abhihitānvayavāda.

Indices of the adhikaraṇas and the Sūtras could have been added.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI

SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By K. Chandrasekharan and V. H. Subramania Sastri. (The P. E. N. Books: Indian Literatures). Published by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay-1. pp. 300. Rs. 6.

The P. E. N., Indian Branch, under the organizational zeal of Sreemati Sophia Wadia, has done valuable service to the cause of Indian Letters. The Indian Literatures Series planned by the Indian P. E. N. have served their purpose admirably by giving a bird's-eye-view of the contributions and achievements in the creative and critical sphere of the various languages of the country. The inclusion in this Series of Sanskrit which forms the basis and inspiration of all Indian literature, and continues still to be cultivated as a medium of original expression and whose increasing influence is seen even in modern Western literature, is to be welcomed.

Mr. K. Chandrasekharan is well known for his devotion to Sanskrit literature; his articles in leading Indian periodicals on subjects of literature and art have earned for him a place among significant writers, critics and constructive interpreters of the varied aspects of Indian culture. Here he offers us an

outline account of the history of Sanskrit literature in collaboration with Sri V. H. Subramania Sastri of the Madras Sanskrit College.

The book is in two parts: an account and an anthology. In the former attention is devoted to the language besides the different branches of literature like the Purāṇas, the Śāstras and the poems and the plays. The authors have not ignored the fact of the continuity of this literature and have made mention of some of the more noteworthy contemporary writers in Sanskrit. The anthology is done with a selective eye and represents the wide variety of works in Sanskrit.

The volume is indeed a handy companion for those who want to have an insight into the treasures of this ancient literature.

MANJERI S. ISWARAN

THE EASTERN CALUKYAS OF VENGI. By Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph. D. Published by Vedam Venkataraya Sastry and Bros., 4, Mallikeswarar Koil South Lane, Linghi Chetty Street, G. T., Madras. Price Rs. 15.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya adds one more feather to his cap by the publication of the work under review, the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgi. The work was planned by the author as Reader in Indian History in the Madras University in collaboration with Sri M. Venkataramayya, then working as a Research Assistant for Mackenzie Mss. work. Owing to unforeseen circumstances, the original plan could not be carried through. The author acknowledges with thanks the spade work done by Sri M. Venkataramayya. The work has now been published with the University's permission.

The only source-material for writing the history of the Cālukyas of Vēṅgi is inscriptions, chiefly, copper-plate records which number nearly one hundred. As there is no literature in Telugu prior to Rājarāja Cālukya, son of Vimalāditya and patron of Nannayabhaṭṭa, the author of the Telugu *Mahā-bhārataṁ*, all history either political, social or economic, has to be reconstructed from facts gleaned from the copper-plate charters issued by the kings of this dynasty. As these records generally contain references to their wars and victories and

furnish their pedigrees, the history reconstructed from such defective material has to be essentially political rather than social or economic. However, mere enumeration of all the facts gleaned from the copper-plate records doesn't even make political history. The researcher has to take into consideration all the facts furnished by the copper-plate records, co-ordinate them with the facts known about the neighbouring contemporary dynasties, try to determine the political relations that existed between them and weave the web of history. Dr. Venkataramanayya's is the first attempt in that direction in English regarding the history of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgi.

The author has taken into account all the facts known till now, both about the Cālukyas of Vēṅgi and their neighbouring contemporary dynasties. The early part of this work contains chapters on the sources, the origin and caste of the Cālukyas, the Eastern Cālukya chronology, the early history of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi and the history of the Eastern Cālukyas as described in their inscriptions. Then the author deals with the successive reigns of the Cālukyan kings. The last chapter is about administration. The book contains three appendices, one on the commencement of the rule of Kulōttuṅga I in Vēṅgi, and the other two on Dramiḷāhava or Caulikaraṇa of Śaktivarman I and the till now unpublished Penneru copper-plate grant of Śaktivarman I. In addition to these, the work contains two maps, a complete genealogical table of the Eastern Cālukyas and an excellent detailed index.

The author has identified some of the hitherto unidentified persons mentioned in the E. Cālukyan grants, and corrected some of the errors hitherto committed regarding some of the dates and events. He has taken pains to reconstruct the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa—Eastern Cālukya wars from the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King, Kriṣṇa I and the Cōḷa—Western Cālukya wars as far as they relate to Vēṅgi. Until very recently, the part played in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa wars by the Cālukya chiefs of Lēmulaṇḍa, the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was not known. The author has taken into account all the facts known both from the inscriptions of this dynasty and the works written by the Jain authors under their patronage, and thrown light on many obscure points.

Another important contribution of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya to the history of the E. Cālukyas is his settling the place of Bādapa and Tāḍapa in the Cālukyan chronological framework. Till now it was thought that these two brothers known only from the Arumbaka, Siripuṇḍi and Interu records, ruled in the period of interregnum of twenty-seven years, after the reign of Dānārṇava and prior to that of Śaktivarmān I. Now, the author proves that their reign-period falls within the reign of Amma II Vijayāditya whom they had driven away with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and occupied the throne of Vēṅgi for a time.

Some of the reigns like those of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, Vijayāditya VII and some others are very well reconstructed and the treatment bears the stamp of thoroughness. The work is a valuable addition to the literature on Telugu history.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

வாயிலின் வளும் வகையோடு தொகைஇக்
கிழுவோன் செப்பல் கிழவ தென்ப.

Avan-ari v-ārru v-ariyu m-ākalin
Errar kaṇ-n-u niruttar kaṇ-n-um
Urimai koṭutta kilavōṇ pāṇkin
Perumaiyir ririya v-aṇṇin kaṇ-n-um
Kilavanai makatū-p pulampū-peri t-ākalin
Alamaral perukiya kāmattu mikutiṇum
Inṇam-u m-iṭumpai-y-u m-ākiya v-iṭattum
Kayan-talai tōṇriya kāmā nēy-y-aṇi
Nayanta kilavanai neṇcu puṇ-n-urii
Naliyi nīkkiya vili-varu nilai-y-um
Pukanra v-uḷḷamoṭu putuvōr cāyarkū
Akanra kilavanai-p pulampū-nanī kāṭṭi
Iyanra neṇcan talai-p-ṇeyar-t tarukkē
Etir-ṇeytu maruṭta vīrattu maruṇkin-um
Taṇkiya v-oḷukkattu-k kilavanai vaṇaṅki
Eṇkaiyark k-urai-y-ṇa v-irattar kaṇ-n-um
Cellā-k kālai-celk-ṇa viṭuttalum
Kāma-k kilatti taṇ-maka-t talii
m-uruvilaiyāṭ t-iruti-k kaṇ-n-um
Ciraṇta ceykai y-av-vaḷi-t tōṇri
Aram-puri neṇcamoṭu taṇ-vara v-ariyāmai-p
Puraṇ-ṇeytu ṇeyarttal vēṇṇiṭal tāṇum
Tantaiya r-oppaṇ makkaḷ-ṇa patanāl
Antamil ciraṇṇin maka-p-paḷittu neruṇkinum
Koṭiyōr koṭumai cuṭum-ṇa v-oṭiyāṭu
Nal-l-icai nayantōr colloṭu tokaii-p
Paṇṇiṇi nīnkiya takuti-k kaṇ-n-um
Koṭumai y-oḷukkāṇ kōṭal vēṇṇi
Aṭi-mēl vīṇta kilavanai neruṇki-k
Kāta-l-eṇkaiyar kāṇi naṇṇ-ṇa
Mātar cāṇra vakaiyū kaṇ-n-um
Tāyar kaṇniya nal-l-aṇi-p putalvanai
Māya-p parattai y-uḷḷiya vaḷi-y-um
Taṇ-vayir ciraṇṇin-u mavan-vayir pirippin-um
Innā-t tol-cū l-eṭuttar kaṇ-n-um
Kāma-k kilatti nalam-pā rāṭṭiya
Tīmaiṇ muṭikkum poruḷin kaṇ-n-um
Koṭumai y-oḷukkattu-t tōḷik k-urivyavai
Vaṭu-v-aru ciraṇṇir karpir ririyaṇmai-k
Kāyṭal-u m-uṇṇattal-um pirittal-um peṭṭal-um

Ā-vayin varūm pal-vēru nilaiyiṇum
Vāyilin varūm vakaiyōṭu tokaii-k
Kīlavōḷ ceppal kīlava t-eṇṇa.

The wife is entitled to have her say on the following occasions:—(1) when she speaks highly of her husband on account of her intimate knowledge of his scholarship,¹ (2) when she supports (the statement of her friend referring to his qualities), (3) when she is attached to him keeping up her dignity on his giving her certain rights, (4) when she is overpowered with passion during his long separation from her, (5) when she is in mirth and misery, (6) when she insults her husband with wounding words asking him not to approach her when he eagerly offers himself to give the ceremonial bath to the child at birth, (7) when she suggests her willingness, though outwardly refuses to allow him to approach her by exhibiting her keen resentment at his separation while he was in loving company with concubines at the time of her weakness after delivery, (8) when she prostrates before her husband who was in company with concubines and sarcastically requests him to express the words addressed to her in the presence of her younger sisters (concubines), (9) when she asks him to go away on his standing before her, (10) when the faithful concubine embraces her child and feels delighted on completing her play with him; (11) when the husband stands behind his wife without being known to her while she is playing with her child, and wants to rid her of the anger towards him so that he may act up to *dharma* (12) when she goes near the child accusing him that he is like his father as is said in the *Vēdas*; (13) when she gives up the love-quarrel and yields to him at the words of the great men effecting reconciliation without dismissing him saying that she was afflicted at his harsh treatment,² (14) when she tells him sarcastically that his prostration would be welcomed if done before her younger sisters (*i.e.*) concubines after feeling that she had to excuse him for his company with other women (15) when she pre-

1. *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's* meaning is this: When she is preferred to other wives by the priests in sacrifices on account of her intimate knowledge of her husband's scholarship in Vedas etc.

2. *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar's* meaning is this: When she unhesitatingly tells him that she was afflicted at her heart on account of his harsh treatment in company of those who praise him.

tends to revile her child on seeing that he is provided with ornaments by his father's concubines, (16) when she confines her child with her, (17) when she alienates herself from the child when he goes with the father, (18) when she takes a cruel vow, (19) when she reviles the faithful concubine at his showing kindness towards her, (20) when she, telling her friend about her husband's company with concubines such things as fit in with her dignity, feels angry with him, reconciles herself to him, spurns him and meets him in conjugal union and behaves with him in diverse similar ways and (21) when *pāṇar* and others intercede.

Note 1. Those that intercede are brahmans, husband's friend, wife's friend, *pāṇar* (man-musician), *virali* (woman-musician), *kūttar* (dancer) etc.

Besides,

146. புணர்ந்தான் போகிய கிழவோன் மனையிருந்து
இடைச்சுரத் திறைச்சியும் வினைபுஞ் சுட்டி
அன்புறு தக்க கிளத்த ருனே
கிழவோன் செய்வினைக் கச்ச மாகும்.

Puṇarnt-ūṭan pōkiya kiḻavōṇ manai-y-iruntū
Iṭai-c-curat t-iraiacci-y-um viṇai-y-uñ cuṭṭi
Aṇp-uru takka kiḻatta rāṇ-ē
Kiḻavōṇ cey-viṇai-k k-acca m-ākum.

Reference with sweet words to the suggestive words and actions of the husband in the forest when she accompanied him before their marriage, by the wife at home is a source of check to the husband in giving her promise of anything to her.

Besides,

147. தோழியுள் ளுறுத்த வாயில் புகுப்பினும்
ஆவயி னிகழு மென்மனார் புலவர்.

Tōḻi-y-uḷ ḷ-urutta vāyil pukuppinum
Ā-vayi nikaḷu m-enmanār pulavar.

Learned men say that such sayings may be found before *pāṇar* and others who are allowed to go before the wife by her friend.

What are the occasions for the wife's friend to have her say?

148. பெறற்கும் பெரும்பொருண் முடிந்தபின் வந்த
 தெறற்கு மரபிற் சிறப்பின் கண்ணும்
 அற்றமழி ஷரைப்பினு மற்ற மில்லாக்
 கிழவோட்¹ சுட்டிய தெய்வக் கடத்தினும்
 சீருடைப் பெரும்பொருள் வைத்தவழி மறப்பினும்
 அடங்கா வொழுக்கத் தவன்வயி னழிந்தோனை
 அடங்கக் காட்டுதற் பொருளின் கண்ணும்
 பிழைத்துவந் திருந்த கிழவனை நெருங்கி
 இழைத்தாக் காக்கிக் கொடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
 வணங்கியன் மொழியான் வணங்கற் கண்ணும்
 புறம்படு வினையாட்டுப் புல்லிய புகர்ச்சியும்
 சிறந்த புதல்வனைத் தேராது² புலம்பினும்
 மாணவந் தாவென வருத்தற் கண்ணும்
 பேணு வொழுக்க நாணிய பொருளினும்
³சூள்வயிற் நிறத்தாற் சோர்வுகண் டழியினும்
 பெரியோ ரொழுக்கம் பெரிதெனக் கிளந்து
 பெறுதகை யில்லாப் பிழைப்பினு மவ்வழி⁴
 உறுதகை யில்லாப் புலவியின்⁵ மூழ்கிய
 கிழவோன் பானின்று கெடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
 உணர்ப்புவயின் வாரா லுடனுற் றோள்வயின்
 உணர்த்தல் வேண்டிய கிழவோன் பானின்று
 தான்வெருண் டாக்கிய தருதித் கண்ணும்
 அருமைக் காலத்துப் பெருமை காட்டிய
⁶வெளிமைக் காலத் திரக்கத் தானும்
 பாணர் கூத்தர் விறவிய ரென்றிவர்
 பேணிச் சொல்லிய குறைவினை யெதிரும்
 நீத்த கிழவனை நிகழுமாறு படிபுயர்⁷
 காத்த தன்மையிற் கண்ணின்று பெயர்ப்பினும்
 பிரியுந் ⁸காலத் தெதிரின்று சாற்றிய
 மரபுடை யெதிரு முளப்படப் பிறவும்
 வகைபட வந்த கிளவி யெல்லாம்
 தோழிக் குரிய வென்மனார் புலவர்.
Perark-arum perum-porun mutinta-pin vanta
Tcrark-aru marapir cirappin kan-n-um

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1. கிழவோன் (இளம்.); கிழவோள் (நச்.)
 2. தேராது (இளம்.); தேராது (நச்.)
 3. சூள்வயின் (இளம்.); சூனயத்து (நச்.)
 4. அவ்வழி (இளம்.); அவ்வயின் (நச்.)
 5. புலவியின் (இளம்.); புலவியுள் (நச்.)
 6. வெளிமை (இளம்.); வெண்மை (நச்.)
 7. படிபுயர் (இளம்.); படிபு (நச்.)
 8. காலத்து (இளம்.); காலை (நச்.)

Arram-ali v-uraippinū m-arra m-illā-k
Kilavōṭ cutṭiya teyva-k kaṭattinūm
Cir-utai-p perum-poruḷ vaitta-vaḷi marappin-um
Ataṅkā v-olukkat t-avaṅ-vayi n-alintōlai
Ataṅka-k kāttutar poruḷin kaṅ-n-um
Pilaittu-van tirunta kilavaṇai ncrunḱi
Ilaittāṅ k-āḱḱi-k koṭuttar kaṅ-n-um
Vaṇaṅkiyaṅ moliyāṅ vaṇaṅkar kaṅ-n-um
Puram-paṭa vilaiyāṭṭu-p pulliya pukarciyum
Ciranta putalvaṇai-t tērātu pulampinūm
Māṇalan tā-v-ena vakuttar kaṅ-n-um
Pēṇā v-olukka nāṇiya poruḷinūm
Cuḷ-vayir rirattār cōrvu-kaṅ t-aliyinūm
Periyō r-olukkam perit-ena-k kilantū
Peru-takai y-illā-p pilaippinū m-a-v-ṭalī
Uru-takai y-illā-p pulaviyū mūḷḱiya
Kilavōḷ pāṇinru kēttutar kaṅ-n-um
Unarppu-vayin vārā v-ūṭal-ur rōḷ-vayin
Unarttal vēṇṭiya kilavōṇ pāṇinru
Tāṅ-veḱuṅ t-āḱḱiya takuti-k kaṅ-n-um
Arumai-k kēlattu-p perumai kāṭṭiya
Velimai-k kēlat t-irakkat tāṅ-um
Pāṇar kūttar viṇaliya r-enr-ivar
Pēṇi-c colliya kurai-vinai y-ctirum
Nitta kilavaṇai niḱalumāru paṭṭiyar
Kātta taṅmaiyyir kaṅṇinru pcyarppinūm
Piriyuṅ kēlat t-ctirninru cārriya
Marap-utai y-ctiru m-uḷappaḷa-p pira-v-um
Vakai-paḷa vanta kēḷavi y-ellām
Tōḷik k-uriya v-cṇmaṇār pulavar.

The wife's friend has her say on the following occasions :
 (1) When (the husband) speaks appreciative words on careful consideration after their great object (marriage) of rare achievement has been accomplished, (2) when she tells him that their sufferings are over, (3) when she tells him that offerings should be given to gods with reference to the wife who escaped from the slander of the public, (4) when the husband forgets the important duty to his wife (in the midst of festivities), (5) when she convinces the wife who is unnerved at the thought that her husband is of suspicious character, that he is not really so, (6) when she makes the husband and the wife meet after approaching the former with her request

while he stands away from his wife having been in company of concubines, (7) when she bends before him with words of supplication, (8) when the husband is wrongfully engaged in outside sportive activities, (9) when the husband stands separated from his wife forgetting even his son¹, (10) when the husband is asked to bring back the beauty, health etc. of his wife for the loss of which he is responsible, (11) when the wife feels ashamed of her husband's company with concubines, (12) when the wife is disheartened at the husband not keeping up his word, (13) when he fails in an undignified manner to meet his wife, though he has said that it is wise to follow the great,² (14) when she ends the love-quarrel by going near the wife who is immersed in grief at the undignified behaviour of the husband, (15) when she shows her temper towards the husband with the idea of ending the love-quarrel when the lady does not agree with his wishes,³ (16) when he is the object of mercy during *karpū*, though he was an object of veneration during *kaḷavu*, (17) when she opposes *pāṇar*, *kūttar* and *viraliyar* while they intercede, (18) when she mercilessly prevents the husband from seeking the company of concubines in order that he may lead a happy life with his wife at least in future though he neglected her company before, (19) when she addresses him in the traditional way on his separation from his beloved (on account of war etc.).

What are the occasions for *kūmakkiḷattiyaṛ* to have their say?

149. புல்லுதன் மயக்கும் புலவிக் கண்ணும்
இல்லோர் செய்வினை யிகழ்ச்சிக் கண்ணும்
பல்வேறு புதல்வர்க் கண்டுநனி யுவப்பினும்
மறையின் வந்த மனையோள் செய்வினை
பொறையின்று பெருகிய பருவரற் கண்ணும்
காதற் சோர்விற் கடப்பாட் டாண்மையின்

1. *Nacciṇṛkkiṇiyaṛ's* meaning is this: when the husband is refused admission by his wife even at the intercession of the son page 14.

2. *Peru-takai il-l-āka* is interpreted by *Iḷampūraṇar* "his dignity vanishing" and by *Nacciṇṛkkiṇiyaṛ* "dignity being the essence of household life."

3. The object of *vekuṇṭū* according to *Iḷampūraṇar* is *talaivaṇ* and according to *Nacciṇṛkkiṇiyaṛ*, *talaivi*.

தாய்போற்¹ கழறித் தழீஇய மனைவியைக்
காய்வின் மவன்வயிற் பொருத்தம் கண்ணும்
இன்னகைப் புதல்வனைத் தழீஇ யிழையணித்து
²பின்னை வந்த வாயிற் கண்ணும்
மனையோ னொத்தலிற் மன்றோ ரன்றோர்
³மிகையெனக் குறித்த கொள்கைக் கண்ணும்
எண்ணிய பண்ணையென் நிவற்றொடு பிரவும்
கண்ணிய காமக் கிழத்தியர் மேன.

Pullutan mayakkum pulavi-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Illōr cey-viṇai y-ikaḷcci-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Pal-vēru putalvar-k kaṇ-ṇ-nai y-uvappiṇum
Maṇaiyīṇ vanta maṇaiyōḷ cey-viṇai
Porai-y-iṇru perukiya paruvarar kaṇ-ṇ-um
Kātar cōrviṇ kaṭappāṭ t-āṇmaiṇ
Tāy-pōr kaḷari-t taḷiṇa maṇaiṇiyai-k
Kāy-v-iṇ r-avan-vayir poruttar kaṇ-ṇ-um
Iṇ-ṇakai-p putalvaṇai-t taḷi y-ilai-y-aṇintu
Piṇṇai vanta vāyir kaṇ-ṇ-um
Maṇaiyō ḷ-ottaliṇ raṇṇō r-aṇṇōr
Mikāi-y-eṇa-k kuritta koḷkai-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Enṇiya paṇnai-y-eṇ r-ivarroṭu pira-v-um
Kaṇṇiya kāma-k kilattiyar mēṇ-a.

The faithful concubines have the following occasions to have their say: (1) when the lover is away from them when he is in the company of his wife, (2) when they slander the action of their lover and his wife, (3) when they delight in the company of different children holding the relationship of sons, (4) when they are in distress not capable of putting up with his actions with another lady in *kaḷavu*, (5) when they arrange for his union with his wife acting the part of the foster-mothers and without bearing any ill-will towards her on account of the laxity of their passion and good-will towards his wife, (6) when they embrace their son with sweet smile and provide him with ornaments and do not then yield to the wishes of other interceders, (7) when they consider that, since they are equal to the lover's wives, other ladies are unnecessary, (8) when they sport with the lover etc.

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1. கழறித் தழீஇய (இளம்.); தழீஇக் கழறிபும் (சே.)
 2. பின்னை (இளம்.); பின்னர் (சே.)
 3. மிகை யென (இளம்.); மிகைபட (சே.)

Note 1. *Iḷampūraṇar* says that *kāma-k-kilattiyar* are of diverse types: the wives belonging to castes other than that of the lover and concubines who are faithful. *Nacciṇārkkiniyar* holds that the latter alone deserve the name.

What is the duty of the interceders?

150. கற்புக் காமமு நற்பா லொழுக்கமும்
மெல்லியற் பொறையுந் நிறையும் வல்லிதின்
விருந்துபுறத் தருதலுஞ் சுற்ற மோம்பலும்
பிறவு மன்ன கிழவோன் மாண்புகள்
முகம்புகன் முறைமையிற் கிழவோற் குரைத்தல்
அகம்புகன் மரபின் வாயில்கட் ஞரிய.
Karpuṇ kāmam-u nar-pā l-olukkam-um
Mel-liyar porai-y-un nirai-y-um vallitin
Viruntu-puran tarutal-uñ curra m-ōmpal-um
Pira-v-u m-aṇṇa kilavōṇ māṇpu-kal
Mukam-pukaṇ muṇaimaiyir kilavōr k-uraittal
Akam-pukaṇ marapiṇ vūyilkaṭ k-uriya.

The interceders who can go into the residence of the husband are used to tell him about his wife's chastity, love, good conduct, forbearance, sublimity, giving warm welcome to guests, carefully attending to the wants of his relatives and attendants and other good qualities.

What is the duty of the foster-mother?

151. கழவினு¹ நிகழ்வினு மெதிர்வினும் வழிகொள
நல்லவை புரைத்தலு மல்லவை கடிதலும்
செவிலிக் ஞரிய வாரு பென்ப.
Kalivin-u nikalvin-u m-etirvin-um vali-kōla
Nallavai y-uraittal-u m-allavai kaṭital-um
Cevilik k-uriya v-ūku m-eṇpa.

They say that the foster-mother has the right to advise her what she, in the past, present and future, should do and what she should avoid.

What is the duty of the learned?

152. சொல்லிய கிளவி யறிவர்க்கு முரிய.
Colliya kilavi y-arivarkku m-uriya.

The learned are entitled to advise her the same.

1. நிகழ்வினு மெதிர் வினும் (இளம்.)

2. வரவினு நிகழ்வினும் (நச்.)

धनमित्राय तां नीत्वा तस्करोऽहमिति भुवन् ।
 सम्भाव्येत(वितः?) परं तेन प्रहर्षद्रवदात्मना ॥ ५२ ॥
 तया सह पुरीमेनां जिहासन्तं निवार्य तम् ।
 आसितव्यमिहैव स्यात् प्रज्ञाशैथिल्यमन्यथा ॥ ५३ ॥
 तन्नयाव स्वमावासमिमामित्यमुना सह ।
 नीत्वा पितुर्गृहं सर्वं मुषित्वा निरयासिषम् ॥ ५४ ॥
 मार्गे मत्तगजं दृष्ट्वा तेनार्थपतिमन्दिरम् ।
 लुप्त्वा मुक्त्वा च तं भूयः प्राप्यालयमशेवहि ॥ ५५ ॥
 श्रुत्वा मासावधिं प्रातर्विवाहं तमुपहरे ।
 धनमित्रमथावोचमाचक्ष्वैवं नरेश्वरम् ॥ ५६ ॥
 देव ! मद्यमनुज्ञाय वर्धितां मयि दुर्विधे ।
 कुबेरदत्तः स्वां कन्यामन्यस्मै दित्सतीत्यहम् ॥ ५७ ॥
 असून् जिहासुरादिष्टः केनापि जटिना वने ।
 नैर्धन्यमूलं मत्त्वैतद्वत्त्वा मे चर्मभस्त्रिकाम् ॥ ५८ ॥
 मन्त्रसिद्धोऽहमस्माभिः साधितेयमिहानया ।
 कृतकृत्यश्चिरं भूत्वा विशामि जरसा रसाम् ॥ ५९ ॥
 अन्यायात्तं धनं कृत्वा तस्यैवान्यच्च विप्रसात् ।
 आराधिता सती प्रातः स्वर्णपूर्णा भवयसौ ॥ ६० ॥
 वणिग्भ्यो गणिकाभ्यो वा दुग्धे चयं मदन्यतः ।
 ईदृशः कल्प इत्युक्त्वा ग्रावच्छिद्रमयाविशत् ॥ ६१ ॥
 देवानुमत्या भोक्तव्येत्यसावप्यनुमंस्यते ।
 न कश्चिदेनं मुष्णीयादित्युक्त्वा स्वगृहं व्रजे ॥ ६२ ॥
 लप्स्यसे च ततः कन्यां जनश्चौर्यश्च नो भवेत् ।
 इत्यादिष्टः स हृष्टात्मा यथाक्तमनुतस्थिवान् ॥ ६३ ॥
 कदाचित् काममञ्जर्या भगिनी रागमञ्जरी ।
 नर्तयामास नृत्यन्ती चित्त(जेन समं म)नः ॥ ६४ ॥

धनमित्रः स्मरार्तं मामवबुध्येदमब्रवीत् ।

धन्या सा गणिकाकन्या यैवं त्वन्मनसि स्थिता ॥ ६५ ॥

भावस्तस्यास्त्वयि व्यक्तः स्मरान्नव्यथिता(निशम् ।

गुणशुल्काहमित्या)स्ते सा निषेधति च स्वसा ॥ ६६ ॥

चिन्त्यं कृत्यमिहेत्यस्या ज्यायस्या पणितं मया ।

मुषित्वा चर्मरत्नं ते दद्यां देया यदि स्वसा ॥ ६७ ॥

मूढया षाढमित्युक्ते..... ।

.....भूयान्वभवं प्रियाम् ॥ ६८ ॥

भूत्वार्थपतिगृह्यो मे प्रणिधिः स विमर्दकः ।

निजस्यो(र्भत्स्यो ?)दारकं चर्मस्तेयं द्योतयति स्म सः ॥ ६९ ॥

.....दितः ।

आह्वयार्थपतिं भूपस्तस्याह्वानमचोदयत् ॥ ७० ॥

स तु मदग्राहिताभिज्ञः प्रागेवोज्ञयिनीं गतः ।

॥ ७१ ॥

त्वाम.....मिया ।

क्रोधादर्थपतौ कारां प्रापिते काममञ्जरी ॥ ७२ ॥

विरूपकाय दत्वार्थं निस्वीभूताजिनाशया ।

धनमित्रमु.....वताम् ॥ ७३ ॥

आर्तेनैव मया चोक्ता विविक्ते काममञ्जरी ।

प्रायो रहस्यनिर्भेदादाहूतासि त्वयोदिते ॥ ७४ ॥

हते च मयि बालेयं न जीवे..... ।

.....तमित्यथ बन्धकी ॥ ७५ ॥

तदद्यार्थपतौ रूढं निर्देक्ष्यामि ततो हृतम् ।

इति क्षमापसमीपे सा तमेवाचष्ट तस्करम् ॥ ७६ ॥

उदारकगिरा राज्ञा स जी..... ।

.....स्वैरं परिणीतवति प्रियाम् ॥ ७७ ॥

मुक्तबन्धः सुरुक्कामप्यखनं बन्धनोदरात् ।
 निहृत्य निहनिष्यन्तं निहत्यैनं सुरुक्कया ॥ ९१ ॥

गत्वा कन्यापुरं तस्मिन् मोषाय कृतनिश्चयः ।
 प्रज्ज्वलन्मणिदीपं तं प्रविश्य नृपकन्यकाम् ॥ ९२ ॥

विस्त्रब्धसुप्तमद्राक्षं निद्रानिभृतविभ्रमाम् ।
 शशिमण्डलसंकाशपर्यङ्गतलशायिनीम् ॥ ९३ ॥

शरदम्बुधरोत्सङ्गशय्यामिव शतहृदाम् ।
 तस्करस्यापि मे चेतस्तयैव मुषितं तदा ॥ ९४ ॥

अशरीरशराविद्धो नावबुद्धोऽस्मि किञ्चन ।
 अनाश्लिष्यन्न शक्नोमि स्थातुमाश्लिष्यता ध्रुवम् ॥ ९५ ॥

क्रन्दिष्यते तदत्रैवं कर्तव्यमिति चिन्तयन् ।
 आलिरव्य तदवस्थां तामार्यश्च फलके क्वचित् । ९६ ॥

अलिखं मत्प्रतिच्छन्दं तत्पदद्वन्द्वगोचरम् ।
 ॥ ९७ ॥

त्वामयमावद्धाञ्जलि

दासजनस्तमिमर्थमर्थयते ।

स्वपिहि मया सह सुरत-

व्यतिकरखिन्नैवमेव त्वम् ॥ ९८ ॥

इत्थं निष्क्रम्य कश्चिन्मे बद्धो नागरिकः सुहृत् ।
 एवं हतः कान्तकस्ते लभ्यं निर्भिद्य तत्पदम् ॥ ९९ ॥

इत्थं तमभिधायाथ प्रस्थितः ससृगालिकः ।
 मार्गे नागरिकापाते वायुग्रस्त इवाभवम् ॥ १०० ॥

ययाचे सा तु मन्माता भूत्वा मदग्रहणाय तान् ।
 किमप्यबद्धमुक्त्वाहं धावितः सान्वधावत ॥ १०१ ॥

उन्मत्तमेव मत्वा मां विनिवृत्तेषु रक्षिषु ।
 गत्वास्मद्गणिकावासं तयैवागमयं निशाम् ॥ १०२ ॥

सम्भूय सुहृदान्येनः प्रत्यापन्नात्मतेजसः ।

मरीचेरवबुद्धयैवं भवत्प्राप्तिमवास्थिषि ॥ १०३ ॥

कान्तकस्यापचारं तन्निधनञ्च निवेदयन् ।

कारकाधिकृतश्चक्रे राज्ञा नागरिकः स मे ॥ १०४ ॥

तन्मुखेन तया गत्या गत्वान्तः समगंसि च ।

सृगालिकोक्तमद्वार्तारक्तया राजकन्यया ॥ १०५ ॥

चण्डवर्मबलाक्रान्ते तस्मिन्नेवान्तरे पुरे ।

अमर्षणे रणे क्षिप्रं गृहीते चण्ड(सिंह?)वर्मणि ॥ १०६ ॥

बलादम्बालिकां बालामपहृत्य प्रियां मम ।

प्रवृत्ते परिणेतुञ्च प्रचण्डे चण्डवर्मणि ॥ १०७ ॥

अहं तस्योत्सवोद्देशं प्रविश्य निभृतायुधः

अजिग्रहं करं मृत्योस्तत्करग्रहणेन्मुखम् ॥ १०८ ॥

वेपमानां प्रियामन्तःपुरं प्रापय्य निष्पतन् ।

देवदर्शननामैतद् भागधेयमयासिषम् ॥ १०९ ॥

इति प्रीतः प्रशस्यैतन्निशम्य नृपनन्दनः ।

उपहारमथापृच्छत् स बद्धाञ्जलिरभ्यधात् ॥ ११० ॥

एषोऽप्यहं विदेहेषु कदाचित्तापसीगृहम् ।

विश्रमायाविशं सा मदर्शनादश्रुमुख्यभूत् ॥ १११ ॥

अनुयुक्ता मया दार्ढ्यं निश्चस्योवाच तापसी ।

प्रहारवर्मा नन्वत्र श्रूयते मिथिलेश्वरः ॥ ११२ ॥

स पुरा मगधान् गत्वा विक्रम्य तुमुले मृधे ।

प्राणितः स्वपुरं गच्छन्निरुद्धः पथि लुब्धकैः ॥ ११३ ॥

तत्सुतेन करस्थेन भ्रष्टाहं सार्थविद्रवे ।

व्याघ्रक्षता क्षणं जहे बालस्त(स्कर)दारकैः ॥ ११४ ॥

अरक्ष्ये वृष्णिपालेन स्वस्थायां मयि मत्सुता ।

तत्रागत्याब्रवीत् सर्वं शबरग्रहणं शिशोः ॥ ११५ ॥

अवन्तिसुन्दरीकथामारः

क्रोतेनात्मनो रक्षा वधस्तस्योद्विवक्षतः ।
स्वशजेन यूनासीदात्मोद्वाहः समागमः ॥ ११६ ॥
इति श्रुत्वोपसृत्येमां पुंसा तेन समं पुरीम् ।
अदहाव महादेव्याः श्रोत्रे पुत्रकवार्तया ॥ ११७ ॥
स राजा ज्येष्ठपुत्रेण दैवाद् विकटवर्मणा ।
ज्वरं निगृह्य बद्धोऽभून्नीता देव्यपि बन्धनम् ॥ ११८ ॥
माहं प्रव्रजिता देवी सुता मे कल्पसुन्दरीम् ।
अभजतौ सुतौ स्यातामद्य त्वत्सदृशाविति ॥ ११९ ॥
श्रुत्वाहमपि जा(ताश्रुः) सोऽहमस्मि तवात्मजः ।
अलमस्मि च तं हन्तुं न जानन्त्यत्र मां जनाः ॥ १२० ॥
इत्युक्त्वा ग्राहिताहारो हर्षनिर्भरया तया ।
देवीमुखेन तं हन्तुं किञ्चिज्जाल(मचिन्तयम्) ॥ १२१ ॥
तस्यान्तःपरवृत्तान्तं मयि पृच्छति सा सुता ।
तत्रोपेत्य ऋहृष्टा मां निशम्याचष्ट तत्प्रिया ॥ १२२ ॥
रूपशीलवयोरभ्या कलासु कृतकौशला ।
मर्तारमभिभूयास्ते नित्यशूरमदक्षिणम् ॥ १२३ ॥
इत्याकर्ण्य तया तस्मिन् देव्यास्तत्समनिन्दया ।
अनुरूपवरस्त्रीणां स्तुत्या वैरमवीवृधम् ॥ १२४ ॥
कुसुमादिप्र(दानेन) प्रवणायां मदाकृतेः ।
दर्शनाद्बद्धभावायाः कामोन्मादमवर्धयम् ॥ १२५ ॥

(एतावानेवायं ग्रन्थ उपलब्धः)

